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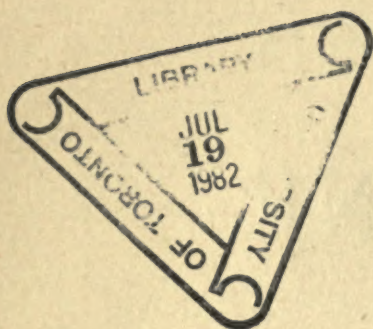
GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

VOLUME XXII

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Ref 50 CONTENTS.

JANUARY

Review of the Month.....	1
Capital and Labor Conference, <i>The Editor</i>	19
Railway and Industry, <i>H. T. Newcomb</i>	26
Can We Raise Our Own Sugar, <i>J. S. Crawford</i>	37
Labor Unions and Labor Contracts, <i>D. L. Cease</i>	59
The Convention and the Caucus, <i>Henry W. Wilbur</i>	65
Editorial Crucible.....	73
Letters from Correspondents.....	81
Question Box.....	83
Book Reviews.....	87
New Books of Interest.....	93
From Recent Magazines.....	95
Public Amusements and Public Tastes.....	96

FEBRUARY

Review of the Month.....	97
Growth of Useful Economics, <i>The Editor</i>	121
Prospects of Domestic Sugar Production, <i>Joseph Biddle Wilkin- son, Jr.</i>	131
Some Free Sugar Fallacies, <i>The Editor</i>	137
The Public School and Citizenship, <i>Edward Emery Hill</i>	147
Labor Laws in Europe, <i>Henry W. Wilbur</i>	158
A Word on British Industries and Labor, <i>The Editor</i>	167
Editorial Crucible.....	170
Question Box.....	176
Book Reviews.....	184
From January Magazines.....	191

MARCH

Review of the Month.....	193
The Menace of a Russian China, <i>by an American in China</i>	214
True Test of Prosperity, <i>The Editor</i>	225
The Inventor's World of Marvels, <i>George Ethelbert Walsh</i>	235
Is Cuba Starving? <i>The Editor</i>	243
Dodging the Child Labor Issue, <i>The Editor</i>	246
Columbia's New President, <i>The Editor</i>	253
Danger of an Unsound Currency, <i>The Editor</i>	256
Editorial Crucible.....	263
Letters from Correspondents.....	271
Question Box.....	273
Book Reviews.....	280
New Books of Interest.....	285
From Recent Magazines.....	287

CONTENTS

APRIL


Review of the Month.....	289
Philippine Fundamentals, <i>Jacob Gould Schurman</i>	303
The Sugar Pandemonium, <i>The Editor</i>	316
Evils of Southern Factory Life, <i>Rev. Jesse Armon Baldwin</i>	326
Is Labor Insurance Feasible, <i>The Editor</i>	338
Public Schools and Good Government, <i>S. E. Forman</i>	348
Our Banking and Treasury System, <i>The Editor</i>	359
Editorial Crucible.....	363
Question Box.....	369
Book Reviews.....	376
New Books of Interest.....	382
From March Magazines.....	383

MAY

Review of the Month.....	385
Pitfalls of Reformers, <i>The Editor</i>	405
The Pendulum of Reform, <i>C. Hanford Henderson</i>	409
Foreign Trade Delusions, <i>The Editor</i>	419
Commerce as a National Peace Maker, <i>W. P. Wilson</i>	428
Why the Ruskin Colony Failed, <i>H. C. McDill</i>	434
Why All Ruskin Colonies" Fail, <i>Hayes Robbins</i>	444
How to Educate the Indians, <i>Ella H. Cooper</i>	452
The Value of By-Products, <i>George Ethelbert Walsh</i>	456
Death of Rev. Charles H. Eaton, <i>The Editor</i>	462
Editorial Crucible.....	464
Question Box.....	470
Book Reviews.....	475
From the Magazines.....	479

JUNE

Review of the Month.....	481
Do the Filipinos Desire American Rule? <i>Sixto Lopez</i>	502
Warning from the Census, <i>The Editor</i>	511
Anomalies of Danish Politics, <i>Harold C. Peterson</i>	527
The Gill School City, <i>James T. White</i>	535
Development of the Coal Industry, <i>William Gilbert Irwin</i>	544
Editorial Crucible.....	552
Question Box.....	559
Book Reviews.....	567
New Books of Interest.....	574
From May Magazines.....	575



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INDEX

Amusements, Public, and the Public Taste,	
	<i>The Editor</i> 96
Banking and Treasury System, Our . .	<i>The Editor</i> 359
By-Products, The Value of	
	<i>George Ethelbert Walsh</i> 456

BOOK REVIEWS:

ADAMS, JOHN COLEMAN; William Hamilton Gibson, Artist..	379
ADDAMS, JANE; Democracy and Social Ethics.....	475
BALDWIN, JAMES; Baldwin's Conquest of the Old Northwest.	93
BLAUVELT, MARY TAYLOR; The Development of Cabinet Gov- ernment in England.....	376
BUTTERWORTH, HEZEKIAH; In the Days of Audubon.....	478
CARPENTER, FRANK G.; Carpenter's Geographical Reader; Europe.....	573
CLARK, JOHN BATES; The Control of Trusts.....	87
CROSBY, ERNEST; Captain Jinks, Hero.....	477
DEVAS, CHARLES S.; Political Economy.....	281
DOS PAROS, JOHN R.; Commercial Trusts: The Growth and Rights of Aggregated Capital.....	283
DRYER, CHARLES R.; Lessons in Physical Geography.....	92
FAIRLIE, JOHN A.; Municipal Administration.....	280
FOLKS, HOMER; The Care of Destitute, Neglected and De- linquent Children.....	381
HARRISON, FREDERIC; George Washington, and Other Amer- ican Addresses.....	184
HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL; Epochs of American History....	567
HOXIL, CHARLES DE FOREST; Civics for New York State....	93
KELLOR, FRANCES A.; Experimental Sociology: Descriptive and Analytical.....	571
LAUER, SOLON; Social Law.....	188
LAUER, SOLON; Mark Hanna: A Sketch from Life, and Other Essays.....	91

INDEX

PHYFE, HENRY P.; 5000 Facts and Fancies: A Cyclopedia of Important, Curious, Quaint and Unique Information in History, Literature, Science, Art and Nature.....	284
PRICE, GEORGE M.; Handbook of Sanitation.....	189
WENNERSTRUM, C. F.; Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Iowa.....	189
WOOD, S. T.; A Primer of Political Economy.....	187
Capital and Labor Conference, <i>The Editor</i>	19
Census, Warning from, <i>The Editor</i>	511
China, The Menace of a Russian, <i>By an American in China</i>	214
Child Labor Issue, Dodging the, <i>The Editor</i>	246
Columbia's New President, <i>The Editor</i>	253
Commerce as a National Peace Maker, <i>W. P. Wilson</i>	428
Convention and the Caucus, <i>Henry W. Wilbur</i>	65
Cuba; Is Cuba Starving? <i>The Editor</i>	243
Currency, Danger of an Unsound, <i>The Editor</i>	256
Danish Politics, Anomalies of, <i>Harold C. Peterson</i>	527
Eaton, Rev. Charles H., Death of, <i>The Editor</i>	462
Economics, Growth of Useful, <i>The Editor</i>	121
EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE:	
Administration and the sugar question.....	264
Administration coercion of Congress.....	466
Australia excludes the Chinese.....	72
Beef trust, Newspapers hysteria on.....	555
Beet sugar, Permanent injury to.....	365
Beet sugar, domestic, Possibilities of.....	79
Boer resistance means, What.....	78
Bryan and Belmont.....	171
Bryan and the coronation.....	263
Buncoing the American people.....	268
Cheap slander of protectionists.....	174
Chinese, Australia excludes the.....	73

INDEX

Cuba, <i>Evening Post</i> fustian on.....	269
Cuba, Our obligation to.....	263
Cuban reciprocity, General Wood on.....	173
"Cut the tariff," Anything to.....	467
Cuban free sugar, Cleveland for.....	170
Excise problem and Governor Odell.....	170
Foreign friendship, Sudden gush of.....	267
Free sugar, Cuba's demands for.....	80
Free Trade, Entering wedge of.....	266
Friendliness, Trying hard to prove.....	170
Gage, Secretary, and Appraiser Wakeman.....	75
General Clarkson for surveyor.....	465
"Haul down the flag!" scarecrow.....	264
Hay's eulogy, Secretary.....	363
Hill's "Thomas Jefferson" platform.....	464
Home industry, Development of.....	74
Immigration, Inrush of.....	366
Immigration, President Roosevelt on.....	73
Loafers, No room for.....	552
Northern race riots.....	172
Pensions, Old age, in St. Louis.....	464
Philippines, Gag law in.....	263
Philippine debate, Democratic advantage in.....	363
President's Message, Bryan on.....	76
Primaries, Protection of.....	363
Progress of direct nominations.....	364
Protective policies, Vindication of.....	367
Regularity and coronations.....	554
Rejoinder to the <i>Times</i> , A fit.....	363
Rosebery and English liberalism.....	75
Sacrifice sugar but save the tobacco.....	265
Schley case, Roosevelt on.....	267
Schurman on Philippine independence.....	172
Southern condemnation of Tillman.....	365
Southern progress, A summary of.....	556

INDEX

Southerners may not object, Even.....	469
Spencer's lament over modern progress.....	557
Street signs in New York.....	263
Sub-treasury system, The.....	76
Sunday opening, Saloon keepers against.....	77
Tammany: Reforming Tammany from the inside.....	552
"Tariff-cutting" crusade, A new.....	553
<i>Times</i> inciting revolution, The.....	173
Trusts, Sidney Webb on.....	468
Urbanizing of population, and the meaning of it.....	553
Virginia's standard of manners.....	73
Watterson's scarecrow issue.....	64
Factory Life, Southern, Evils of, <i>Rev. Jessie Armon Baldwin</i>	326
Filipinos; Do the Filipinos Desire American Rule? <i>Sixto Lopez</i>	502
Foreign Trade Delusions, <i>The Editor</i>	419
Indians, How to Educate, <i>Ella H. Cooper</i>	452
Industries and Railroads, <i>H. T. Newcomb</i>	26
Industry and Labor, A Word on British, <i>The Editor</i>	167
Industry, Development of the Coal, <i>William Gilbert Irwin</i>	544
Inventor's World of Marvels, <i>George Ethelbert Walsh</i>	235
Labor Unions and Labor Contracts, <i>D. L. Cease</i>	59
Labor Laws in Europe, <i>Henry W. Wilbur</i>	158
Labor; Is Labor Insurance Feasible? <i>The Editor</i> ...	338
Labor, Dodging the Child Labor Issue, <i>The Editor</i>	246
Labor and Capital Conference, <i>The Editor</i>	19
LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS:	
Economic education, Successful work in.....	271
Industrial peace, Progress of.....	272

INDEX

Labor and capital problems.....	82
Primary reform.....	82
Reciprocity, The lecture on.....	81
Steel strike, Review of.....	81
What both sides need.....	271
Magazines, Extracts from (Jan.) 95, (Feb.) 191,	
(March) 287, (April) 383, (May) 479, (June) 575	
New Books of Interest, (Jan.) 93, (Feb.) 190,	
(March) 285, (April) 382, (June).....	574
Philippine Fundamentals,	
<i>Jacob Gould Schurman, LL. D.</i>	303
Politics, Anomalies of Danish, <i>Harold C. Peterson</i> ..	527
Prosperity, True Test of, <i>The Editor</i>	225

QUESTION BOX:

American steel rail, Foreign prices.....	373
Beet sugar and government policy.....	179
Boers, The case of.....	177
Civilization for the Filipinos.....	181
Cuba, Our responsibility for.....	277
Cuba free sugar, Effects of.....	85
Cuba's claims, Proper limit of.....	273
Cuba "Starvation," and balance of trade.....	369
Cuban sugar, Proposed bounty on.....	176
Democratic Party, Demoralization of.....	182
Economics, Some points on.....	472
England and Germany in 1898, Attitude of.....	275
Free trade and prosperity.....	562
Hours of labor, Uniform.....	372
Immigrants and rough labor.....	375
Labor injunction and socialism.....	471
Labor and wealth production.....	565
Political education of young women.....	560
President and the spoilsmen.....	559

INDEX

President and the bosses win? Will the.....	86
Self-development and altruism.....	564
Socialistic; Is trade unionism socialistic?.....	470
Strike remedy, Practical workings of.....	180
 Reformers, Pitfalls of, <i>The Editor</i>	405
Reform, The Pendulum of, <i>C. H. Henderson</i>	409
 REVIEW OF THE MONTH:	
Anarchy, Suppression of.....	4
Anglo-Japanese alliance.....	206
Arbitration committee, Plans of.....	300
Arbitration conference, Labor opinion on.....	395
Boer success, Meaning of.....	296
Boston strike, The.....	298
Cabinet changes.....	289
Carnegie and Stanford gifts, Recent.....	208
Cecil Rhodes, The work of.....	385
Chinese court, Return of.....	114
Coal miner's strike, The.....	497
Cost of living and the wage-earners.....	118
Combination should be genuine.....	403
Cuba and the sugar tariff.....	5
Cuban presidential election.....	112
Cuban republic, The new.....	481
Current price comparisons.....	17 116-212 301-399-499
Danish West Indies, Annexation of.....	203
Drastic Measures in the Philippines.....	363
English Students: Bring English students here, too.....	390
Everybody is friendly now.....	193
Excise problems, The wrangle over.....	98
Expansion and protection.....	293
"General Order No. 100," Irrelevancy of.....	489-493
Great Northern deal, The.....	102
High meat prices, Basis of.....	401

INDEX

Home interest first.....	7
Horrors of war, Modifying the.....	393
Independence, but not annexation.....	113
International peace, Steps toward.....	392
Isthmian canal prospects.....	109
Labor and immigration.....	2
Labor arbitration, Progress of.....	398
Labor, Spurious "Friends" of.....	396
New canal treaty, The.....	8
New congress, The.....	1
New York City government, New era in.....	97
Opportunity and responsibility, Our.....	196
Oxford scholarship, Significance of.....	389
Pan-American conference, Works of.....	205
Philippines, Dark days in.....	485
Philippine supreme court decision, The.....	10-12
President's Message, The.....	1
Private wealth and public good.....	210
Schley verdict, The.....	14
Schurman on Philippine independence.....	172
Schurman's address, and the senate debate.....	201
Sugar tariff problem, A side light on.....	484
Tariff Law, New Philippine.....	292
Ruskin Colony, Why Failed, <i>H. C. McDill</i> , 434-451	
Russian China, The Menace of,	
	<i>By an American in China</i> 214
Schools, Public, and Citizenship,	
	<i>Edward Emory Hill</i> 147
Schools, Public, and Good Government,	
	<i>S. E. Forman, Ph. D.</i> 348
School City, the Gill, <i>James T. White</i> 535	
Southern Factory Life, Evils of,	
	<i>Rev. Jesse Armon Baldwin</i> 326
Sugar, Can We Raise Our Own? <i>J. S. Crawford</i> .. 37	

INDEX

Sugar; Prospects of Domestic Sugar Production	
<i>Joseph Biddle Wilkinson, Jr.</i>	131
Sugar; Some Free Sugar Fallacies, <i>The Editor</i> ...	137
Sugar; The Sugar Pandemonium, <i>The Editor</i>	316
Useful Economics, Growth of, <i>The Editor</i>	121

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

VOL. XXII.

JANUARY, 1902

NO. 1

PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND ECONOMICS

<i>Frontispiece</i>	<i>Hon. John Hay</i>	
Review of the Month: The new congress—The president's message—Labor and immigration—Suppression of anarchy—Cuba and the sugar tariff—Home interests first—The new canal treaty—The Philippines decision—Immediate effects and future policy—The Schley verdict—Dewey's dissenting opinion—Current price comparisons		1
Capital and Labor Conference,— <i>The Editor</i>		19
Railways and Industry,— <i>H. T. Newcomb</i> , Editor THE RAILWAY WORLD		26
Can We Raise Our Own Sugar?—		
I. Beet Sugar Industry in Europe		37
II. Possibilities of Beet Sugar in the United States		46
	<i>J. S. Crawford</i>	
Labor Unions and Labor Contracts,— <i>D. L. Cease</i> , Editor RAILROAD TRAINMEN'S JOURNAL		59
The Convention and the Caucus,— <i>Henry W. Wilbur</i>		65
Editorial Crucible: President Roosevelt on immigration—Virginia's standard of manners—Australia excludes the Chinese—Development of home industry—Rosebery and English liberalism—Secretary Gage and Appraiser Wakeman—Bryan on the president's message—The sub-treasury system—Saloon keepers against Sunday opening—What Boer resistance means—Possibilities of domestic beet sugar—Cuba's demand for free sugar		73

THE OPEN FORUM

Letters from Correspondents: The lecture on reciprocity—Review of the steel strike—Primary reform—Labor and capital problems	81
Question Box: Mr. Borden's wage policies—Effects of Cuban free sugar—Will the president or the bosses win?	83

CURRENT LITERATURE

Book Reviews: The Control of Trusts (<i>Clark</i>)—Mark Hanna: A Sketch from Life, and Other Essays (<i>Lauer</i>)—Lessons in Physical Geography (<i>Dryer</i>)—Civics for New York State (<i>Hoxie</i>)—Baldwin's Conquest of the Old Northwest (<i>Baldwin</i>)	87
New Books of Interest	93
From Recent Magazines	95
Public Amusements and the Public Taste	96

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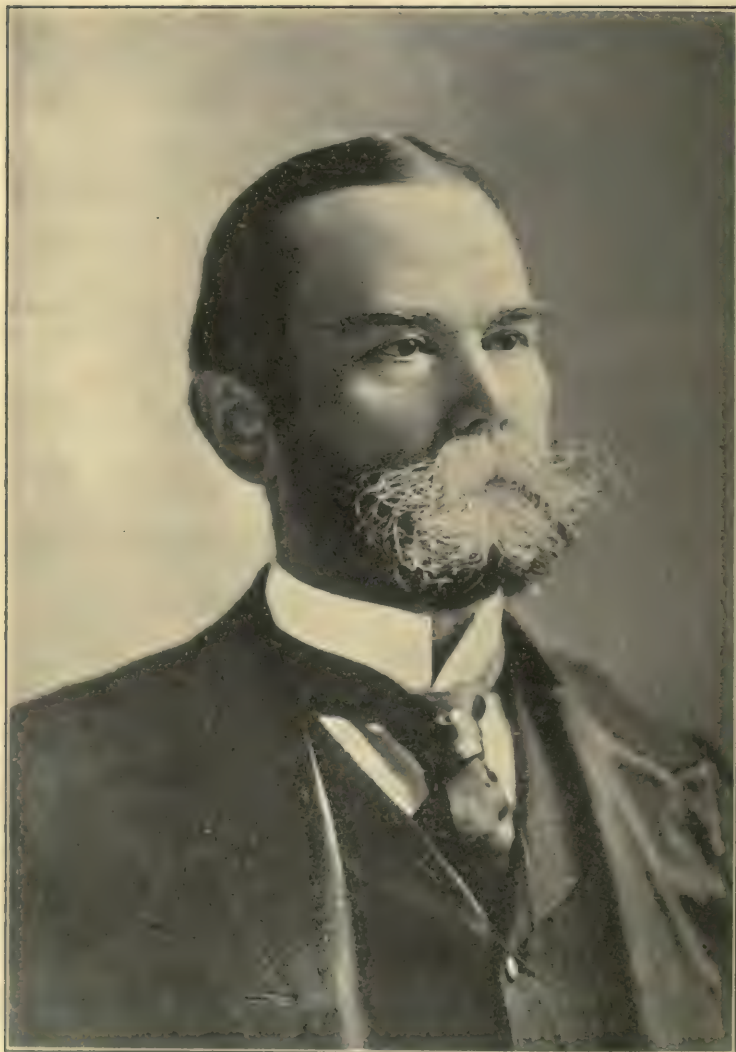
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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The New Congress

When the fifty-sixth congress finished its work last March, the fact that the fifty-seventh would convene under a new president seemed about the remotest of all human contingencies. Inevitably, an event which stirred the nation so profoundly cast its influence over the reassembling of the people's representatives, but the formal adjournment and arrangements for memorial services were by no means the most impressive feature of the situation. The impressive thing was the simple fact that so momentous a change could occur, and a new congress assemble, without a ripple of disturbance or sign of change, either in the conduct of public business or even in the general policies of the government. No monarchical form of government on the earth has ever had such magnificent proof of the stability of national institutions as the simple transfers of authority in this country upon the three occasions of assassination of the chief magistrate.

The President's Message

President Roosevelt's first message to congress is about as definite a departure from custom as could well be imagined.

It is not merely a review of the condition of the country, but an explicit carrying out of the constitutional

mandate to "recommend to their (congress) consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Practically no subject of importance is discussed without some positive suggestion for congressional action, and the most gratifying feature of this is that it deals quite as fearlessly and definitely with the new industrial and social problems that have only recently entered the political arena as with the old familiar issues on which it takes no particular courage to reiterate traditional party doctrines. This is especially true of the treatment of the "trust" issue, the question of organized labor, and immigration.

Instead of yielding to the threat of political vengeance if he did not demand wholesale destruction of large corporations, the president gives a calm and judicious analysis of the modern tendency to industrial concentration; shows its manifest advantages, warns congress against radical repressive legislation, and at the same time points out the evils associated with capitalistic industry which need attention. The chief remedy proposed is publicity, such as is already required of banks and railroads; this being the first essential to correct knowledge of the situation, whether the abuse aimed at be overcapitalization or unfair competitive methods, or whatever. In other words, the president puts into positive recommendation the conclusions reached by the majority of the most careful students of the subject in the light of the experience of the last two decades of capitalistic organization.

**Labor and
Immigration**

As to the other and balancing phase of the organization tendency, the president fully recognizes the necessity and value of labor organizations. He recommends a new government department of commerce and industries, whose head should be a member of the cabinet, to deal alike

with the problems of corporations, trade, and with "whatever concerns labor." Recognition of the interests of labor appears also in his declaration that: "Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level."

Promptly following up this suggestion, the president urges early reenactment of the Chinese exclusion law, which expires next year; strict enforcement of the eight-hour law for government employees, enforcement of "fair" conditions in all work done by contract for the government, and the adoption of a comprehensive immigration law with a three-fold provision to exclude all known anarchists, all who do not measure up to an adequate educational test, and all who are below a "certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor." As insuring this latter provision: "There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living, and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions."

The treatment of these subjects shows that we have in the president's chair, at last, a man thoroughly alive to the importance of the new and acute social problems that have been brought into American life by the revolutionary changes in modern industry, and not merely in touch with these problems, but having a wholesome and genuine sympathy with the interests of the labor movement, as a movement, no less than a common-sense appreciation of the rights and true economic functions of organized capital.

**Suppression of
Anarchy**

The proposition to exclude anarchists, in the president's discussion of immigration, included a recommendation for more thorough inspection of immigrants abroad. Our government secret service is at present utterly inadequate, and is actually not authorized to engage in any work but the detection of counterfeiting. Whatever other work they do is purely voluntary. An extension of the secret service abroad might not be feasible without international cooperation, but, if so, there ought to be international agreement on the subject. In line with this, the president in discussing anarchy declares that "it should be made an offence against the law of nations . . . by treaties among all civilized powers." Such treaties, also, would give the federal government power to deal with the crime in case no other provision for federal action should be found feasible.

Going beyond this, however, the president makes the positive recommendation that "the federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who attempts to kill the president or any man who, by the constitution or by law, is in line for succession for the presidency." In response to this suggestion, numerous bills have already been introduced in congress, that offered by Senator Hoar on December 4th being the most thoroughgoing of all in its provisions. This provides for federal jurisdiction over anarchists, and is based of course on the implied power of the national government to protect its own existence by protecting the lives of its officials. The measure proposes the death penalty for any one who assassinates or attempts to assassinate the president or any officer of the United States, or the ruler of any foreign country who may be within the United States; also, imprisonment for not more than twenty years for any one who advises or conspires to accomplish the killing of the president or

any officer of the United States or ruler of any foreign country; also, that a person who wilfully aids in the escape of any such criminal shall be deemed an accomplice and punishable as a principal to the crime.

This particular measure may not become law, but clearly some federal action is imperative; not so much for the sake of greater security against anarchists as for the purpose of definitely asserting the sovereign power of the United States government in a matter vital to its own security. Whether the protection offered by state laws is ample or not, the dignity of the national government requires that the guarding of the president's life should not be left to any other than federal authority. Withal, in the last analysis, it will be the protective measures,—those aimed to dry up the springs and wipe out the causes of anarchy,—rather than those intended to punish the criminal after the fact, which will really accomplish about all that is accomplished in stamping out this hideous menace to organized society.

Cuba and the Sugar Tariff

The Cuban planters who are looking for heavy reduction, if not abolition, of the tariff on Cuban sugar, gathered considerable encouragement from the president's recommendation to congress to "provide for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States." Going away beyond what this implied, the Cubans are now working for entire abolition of the sugar tariff. Some reduction may indeed be feasible with no material damage to American interests, and the whole tariff on Cuban sugar might be abolished if there were any reasonable grounds for supposing that this could be done without violating the rule stated by the president with equal force elsewhere in the message that "reciprocity be sought for so far as it can

safely be done without injury to our home industries," and that "every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad."

If there were any good reason to suppose that Cuban sugar importations would remain anywhere near the present volume, it might be possible to grant the concession without ruining the prospects of domestic beet-sugar production. But what are the facts? Simply, that Cuba is already increasing its sugar production by leaps and bounds, and is now fast approaching the million-ton per annum mark, which will be more than half our annual importation of raw sugar. With free Cuban sugar there is little doubt American capital would go into Cuban sugar production until, in a short time, Cuba could supply our whole demand, or come very near it. What would be the net result? Our home sugar product would no longer be of sufficient relative importance to maintain a place in the market, and the price would drop towards the Cuban cost of production, blasting the prospects of domestic sugar production, with all its advantageous possibilities for the diversification and increased profitableness of American agriculture, and wiping out at the same time a good portion of the bonanza profits the Cuban planters are anticipating if they could have free sugar with the present scale of prices maintained. Even with this bonanza gone, however, if Cuba could become the sugar producer for the United States it would mean industrial prosperity for the island and large employment for labor and capital, the greater part of which might be developed here in the United States if our beet-sugar industry could have a sufficient guarantee against any such wholesale deluge of cheap labor competition.

Home Interests
First

The disposition of this country is to do everything within its power to help Cuba, both industrially and politically, but it cannot undertake wholesale philanthropy to the definite injury of American industrial, agricultural and labor interests. The course of the Cuban representatives now in this country, in apparently trying to advise the American people what they ought to do on a matter of purely domestic policy as regards the development of the domestic sugar industry, coupled with their effort to secure, not a reasonable reduction, but complete free trade for Cuban sugar, is not calculated to increase the spirit of generosity on our part. The kind of arguments that are being used in behalf of free Cuban sugar are even less worthy of respect or even patience. For example, a great to-do is made about the saving to American consumers if the tariff were removed, and almost in the same breath it is declared that the American industry need not fear since Cuban free sugar would not affect the price in this market.

The best sugar industry is still largely in the experimental stage in this country, due chiefly to the uncertainty of national policy towards this industry, but its possibilities have been thoroughly demonstrated on an immense scale in Europe, and there is every reason to suppose that with proper opportunity and guarantee of reasonable protection, it could reach the point of supplying the bulk, if not all, of our home demand. When that was accomplished, with the productive improvements that would inevitably come in an industry of such magnitude, we should have a steady cheapening of the price. This has been the experience in practically every other important new industry developed in this country. Cuba has no claim on the United States beyond the mere right to ask more favors, in addition

to the long list already granted, beginning with the voluntary freeing of the island from Spanish tyranny; and even if any fresh concessions are found practicable the Cubans will not be likely to get them at all unless the attitude they adopt is something better than misrepresentation and dictatorial demands.

**The New
Canal Treaty**

After figuring in diplomatic controversy for more than half a century, the political problems affecting the construction of a canal across the Central American isthmus seem to be solved at last. Ever since 1850 the exclusive ownership; control and defence of such a canal by the United States has been blocked by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain. Public sentiment in this country has insisted on absolute rights of defence and control of such a canal; so that not even the treaty negotiated by Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefoot last year, continuing the general spirit of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but in such a way as practically to remove all possible danger of any foreign control, could not be ratified in the senate without amendments which prevented its acceptance by Great Britain. Clearly, it was necessary first of all to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty before anything practical could ever be accomplished. In securing this abrogation, at last, Secretary Hay has won a real and momentous diplomatic success.

The new treaty opens by declaring that it supersedes the old without impairing "the 'general principle' of neutralization established in Article VIII. of that convention." The general characteristic in which it differs from the treaty arranged and rejected last year is the omission of all provisions which definitely forbade the fortification of the canal by the United States and opened it to the ships of all nations "in time of war as in time of peace." The proposition in the

earlier treaty, that other nations should be asked to adhere to it, is also omitted, and its terms are now made applicable only to such nations as adhere to the rules of neutrality established for the canal.

Practically the only objections made to the new treaty are that it does not act on and definitely reserve to the United States these rights of fortification and closing of the canal to war vessels of an enemy in time of war; but the literal fact is that omission of the prohibition is practically a tacit admission of the right to do these things. The negative instead of the positive form was adopted, presumably, to give the aspect of compromise, as a concession to British feeling, but the results are secured for all practical purposes, and it is inconceivable that the doing of any of these things by us, if occasion arose, would be resisted by Great Britain. This is clearly the view taken by the senate, since the treaty was confirmed December 16th by the almost unanimous vote of 76 to 2.

Article IV. of the new treaty provides, with reference to the countries across which this canal will pass, that "no change of territorial sovereignty or of international relations shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the high contracting parties under the treaty." To this it is objected in some quarters that if Nicaragua and Costa Rica should ever become parts of the United States we should still lack the right to fortify the canal and exclude war vessels of the enemy in time of war, even though the canal were then actually in our own territory; but the point is of no practical weight. If these countries should become part of our national territory at any future time, and Great Britain should undertake to oppose our free action with the canal, the manifest absurdity of it would either force a new treaty, just as the present circumstances have forced a substitute for the Clayton-Bulwer conven-

tion, or else we should simply abrogate the treaty ourselves and stand for the consequences. The fourth article is of little consequence, anyway, since it is quite impossible to mortgage the future in any such way. All the provisions of any treaty are subject to revision by joint agreement or definite abrogation, whenever conditions may come to make such a change desirable.

As it stands, the new treaty opens the way at once to the construction of a canal, either by the United States government or by private enterprise under our supervision and control. Secretary Hay's success in bringing the controversy to a satisfactory close, after it had run through nearly a dozen administrations, will stand alongside his able handling of the Chinese negotiations. Both will rank as diplomatic achievements whose full significance will become clearer with the increasing development of our world-wide interests.

The Philippines Decision The long awaited decision of the supreme court, on the case involving the political relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands, was rendered on December 2nd. The test case was on the seizure of some fourteen diamond rings brought into the United States from the Philippines by a soldier named Pepke, after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, the basis of the seizure being that the rings were subject to duty as importations from a foreign country. This was the government's contention, but the court has decided against it on the same grounds taken in the Porto Rico cases decided early last summer. Briefly, the status of the Philippines, as of Porto Rico, is declared to be that after annexation they become "domestic territory," not as an integral part of the United States but as "appurtenances," and that the power rests with congress to decide to what extent the provisions of the constitu-

tion of the United States shall apply to the government of the islands. Therefore, the collection of duties on Philippine imports after the treaty of peace was improper, not because the islands came under the constitutional provision that all duties must be uniform throughout the United States, but because congress had not as yet authorized any duty on goods brought from the Philippines. On the same ground the court decided in one of the Porto Rico cases last summer that a duty levied on goods brought from that island after the treaty of peace but before the passage of the Foraker act, placing a tariff on Porto Rican imports, was without authority and void; while a duty levied after the Foraker act was proper. Practically the same position is taken in still another decision, rendered on December 2nd, in regard to the collection of certain duties on goods imported into Porto Rico from the United States.

This doctrine having been confirmed, therefore, in several distinct cases, it must be regarded as establishing the power of congress over the new possessions of the United States, but it definitely denies the right of the president to govern them personally by virtue of his presidential authority. This is a limitation of the executive power, and places the responsibility for the government of these appurtenances directly upon the American nation as a whole, where it ought to rest. As has been pointed out, the decisions practically recognize three different kinds of political territory included within the United States: First, the states; second, organized territories expressly provided for in the constitution; third, territory belonging to the United States but under the constitution only so far as its provisions are extended to such territory by congress.

**Immediate Effects,
and Future Policy** The first effect of the decision, naturally, was to impress the necessity of a special tariff act for Philippine imports, similar to the Foraker law for Porto Rico. A bill was promptly introduced extending the provisions of the Dingley law to Philippine imports, and enacting into law the special tariff for the Philippine islands put into operation by the Philippine commission. This bill passed the house of representatives December 18th, by an almost strict party vote of 163 to 128, and there is little reason to doubt that it will become law. Only two or three hundred thousand dollars of duties collected on Philippine imports will have to be refunded, but the enactment of the Dingley schedules for Philippine imports is imperative to prevent an increasing influx, not merely of cheap-labor products from those islands, but the products of other nations which could be sent into the Philippines under the lower duties of the local tariff there and thence re-exported to the United States.

It is gratifying to have the rule finally established that the constitution does not necessarily follow the flag, and therefore that we are not obliged to embody into our national system several entire groups of tropical population wholly unfit to exercise any voice whatever in the government of the United States. Nevertheless, we cannot and must not forget that this security had to be purchased at the cost of introducing a distinctly monarchical principle into our governmental system. To adopt the principle of the right to govern these people, with or without extending the provisions of the constitution to them, is to assume, at least, the right of arbitrary external authority,—congress instead of the president standing in the place of monarch. The danger may seem insignificant now, but the priceless possession of free democratic government was not won

so easily that undermining tendencies can be permitted without apprehension and stubborn resistance.

The most hopeful feature of the newly established right of congress to control the destinies of the Philippines is that it includes the power to grant them independence, whenever the time shall arrive that such a course seems feasible. As was to be expected, President Roosevelt in his message stands for the continued effort to restore peace, develop the prosperity of the islands, and establish the largest possible measure of self-government for the people; but he expresses no opinion as to the ultimate policy towards them. In fact, his very insistence on maintenance of the Monroe doctrine must have thrown into strong light the inconsistency of declaring for permanent annexation of the Philippines, and he did not do it. The incongruity of the two things is attracting increasing comment abroad: for example, the *Westminster Gazette*, in commenting on the president's discussion of the Monroe doctrine, says:

"It is not easy to confirm this in the interests of mankind, and when the United States, after warning Europe not to enter America, proceeds herself to step out from the American continent, even theoretical defence is difficult. The situation has the germs of an immense controversy in the future."

This, from a friendly English source, shows how Christendom will come to discount our professions of disinterested guardianship of the western hemisphere, as expressed in the Monroe doctrine, and group us with all the other aggressively colonizing nations.

Our military authorities in the islands give no hope of any important reduction for several years in the army needed to cope with the insurgents. In Samar lately the rebellion has been especially active, and the Filipinos still continue to make formal appeals for the promise of independence for the islands. Even though

it might be a matter of generations before this could be safely granted, there is little doubt that a declaration of intention to this effect, such as was made in the case of Cuba, would be the greatest single measure within our power to adopt to stop the armed resistance of the natives and secure their cooperation in a peaceful re-establishment of orderly government and industry.

**The Schley
Verdict**

The Schley court of inquiry has at last rendered its decision. Most unfortunately it is a divided verdict, the effect of which may be to reopen and prolong the wearisome discussion and probably transfer it to congress; even though Secretary Long has affirmed the findings and dismissed the case, so far as the navy department is concerned. Already, the dragging out of this contest and the petty revelations in connection with it have actually lessened public interest in the navy; one recent indication of which is the final failure and abandonment of the effort to erect a great naval arch in New York city.

Rear Admirals Ramsey and Benham concurred on most of the points of the decision, adversely to Rear Admiral Schley, and, according to usage, this report is signed also by Admiral Dewey. The latter, however, submitted a separate expression of opinion bearing directly the other way. Of the fourteen points covered in the adverse report, thirteen are definitely in criticism of Schley, to the general effect that his movements off the southern coast of Cuba prior to the battle of Santiago were dilatory, ineffective and lacking in enterprise, that he disobeyed the orders of the navy department, made inaccurate reports about his coal supply, was unjust to Commander Hodgson in publishing only a part of the correspondence between them, and that, in the battle of July 3rd, he turned the Brooklyn

in such a way as to lose distance and position with the Spanish vessels and oblige the Texas to stop and back her engines to avoid a collision.

With all this string of blunders, it is a wonder Schley was not annihilated by the Spanish before ever he got anywhere near Cuba, but the report for some reason or other does not also find that he was the coward and caitiff portrayed in Maclay's invaluable work. The fourteenth item says of Schley:

"His conduct during the battle of July 3rd was self-possessed, and he encouraged in his own person his subordinate officers and men to fight courageously."

Whatever else may come out of this report, therefore, it relegates Maclay's "history" to the scrap heap, so far as concerns any claim it may make to be an accurate and authoritative statement of the naval operations in the Spanish war. Maclay, much to the credit of Secretary Long, has been summarily dismissed from the government service. It has been denied that Rear Admiral Sampson ever actually read or approved the portions of Maclay's book relating to Schley, and for the sake of the good name of the naval service it is sincerely to be hoped he did not. About the last straw in the whole matter would be to have the controversy degenerate to a personal quarrel between two brave and patriotic officers, for both of whom there was enough glory in the magnificently successful campaign and battle of Santiago to insure the lasting gratitude and honor of the American people.

**Dewey's Dis-
senting Opinion**

Admiral Dewey's report is brief, covering not more than half a dozen points. He declares that Commodore Schley took the flying squadron from Key West to Cienfuegos with all possible dispatch, having in view reasonable economy of coal; that his blockade of Cienfuegos was effec-

tive; that he allowed the steamer Adula to enter that port to get information regarding the Spanish squadron; that he went on to Santiago with as much speed as possible, keeping the squadron a unit; maintained an effective blockade of Santiago, and "was the senior officer of our squadron off Santiago when the Spanish squadron attempted to escape on the morning of July 3rd, 1898. He was in absolute command and is entitled to the credit due to such commanding officer for the glorious victory which resulted in the total destruction of the Spanish ships." The latter point was not under investigation by the court, but it should be noted that Admiral Dewey's statement is submitted simply as an expression of opinion. The official report of the court, which he also signed as a matter of form, covers only points definitely investigated.

In some quarters the report of the court and Admiral Dewey's opinion have been analyzed with a view of showing that Admiral Dewey concurred in all the findings not expressly controverted in his separate statement. The probability is, however, that Admiral Dewey regarded most of the criticisms of Schley's movements as not worth making the basis of an official condemnation in the light of the practical results of his campaign. Dewey himself had some experience with navy department orders, and the impossibility of waiting for authority from Washington for every movement, instead of acting on his best judgment in the knowledge of the situation as it actually developed from day to day. In fact, there was a time after the battle of Manila when he cut the cables to Hong Kong on purpose to have a free hand. Neither is it to be assumed that Admiral Dewey concurred in the criticism on the way the Brooklyn was manœuvered in the battle, in view of the fact that it was the Brooklyn that received the bulk of the enemy's fire, did most of the effective firing

on our side, and was in the lead with the Oregon in the capture of the last Spanish vessel.

There may be a measure of justification in many of the adverse findings, especially that relating to the Hodgson correspondence, which would seem to have been a serious breach of honor; yet, as to the strictures on Schley's campaign, it is difficult not to share Admiral Dewey's evident feeling, that the practical result is the chief consideration, and that no man can avoid errors of judgment before the event, when he cannot know what is afterwards known, how it is all going to come out and just what the enemy will do.

Resolutions have been introduced into congress for a further investigation, and apparently the end is not yet. Secretary Root has censured General Miles in the severest terms for publicly expressing an opinion on the Schley case, which will undoubtedly add fresh bitterness and rancor to the remaining stages of the controversy.

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

Current Price
Comparisons

	Dec. 21, 1901	Oct. 21, 1901	Dec. 21, 1900
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.85	\$3.70	\$3.85
Wheat, No. 2 red	87½	78½	79½
Corn, No. 2 mixed	71½	61½	46½
Oats, No. 2 mixed	50½	39½	27½
Pork, mess	16.75	16.00	12.50
Beef, hams	19.50	21.50	17.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7	6½	6½	6½
Sugar, granulated	4.90	5.10	5.60
Butter, creamery, extra	25	22½	25
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy	10½	10	11½
Cotton, middling upland	8½	8½	10½
Print cloths	3	3	3½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.20	7.65	7.25
Hides, native steers	13½	13½	12½
Leather, hemlock	24½	24½	24
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	16.00	16.00	15.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.00	15.00	15.25
Tin, Straits	22.50	25.00	26.50
Copper, Lake ingot	13.00	16.85	16.75

	Dec. 21, 1901	Oct. 21, 1901	Dec. 21, 1900
Lead, domestic	4.00	4.37½	4.37½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	4.40	4.40	—
Steel rails	28.00	28.00	—
Wire nails (Pittsburg)	2.15	2.30	—

For purposes of comparison we present English prices for staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, the quotations being for the latest available date and corresponding period one year ago:

	Dec. 6, 1901	Dec. 7, 1900
Steel rails (ton)	\$26.52	\$29.22
Scotch pig iron (ton)	13.21	15.37
Copper (100 lbs.)	13.39	17.69
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	27.43	29.46
Lead, English pig (100 lbs.)	2.77	4.08
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . . . .	.08	.10
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	.12	.10

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for December 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1891.	Dec. 1, 1898.	Dec. 1, 1899.	Dec. 1, 1900.	Jan. 1, 1901.	Nov. 1, 1901.	Dec. 1, 1901.
Breadstuffs.	\$19.725	\$13.186	\$12.990	\$13.843	\$14.486	\$17.840	\$19.528
Meats	7.810	7.215	7.984	8.269	8.407	8.929	9.259
Dairy and garden	16.270	11.388	12.782	13.887	15.556	13.622	15.675
Other food	10.215	8.902	9.076	9.544	9.504	9.157	9.081
Clothing	14.135	14.105	17.314	15.744	16.024	15.342	15.331
Metals.	15.875	11.892	18.053	15.235	15.810	15.876	15.722
Miscellaneous	14.217	12.491	16.232	15.872	15.881	16.977	16.782
Total	\$98.247	\$79.179	\$94.431	\$92.394	\$95.668	\$97.743	\$101.378

Farming interests certainly have no cause to complain of present price tendencies; practically all the net advance during the past year having been in breadstuffs, meats, dairy and garden products. Between November 1 and December 1, each of these three groups made a further advance, only the miscellaneous food products showing a slight decline; while clothing, metals and miscellaneous products—the manufactured commodities in general—all declined.

CAPITAL AND LABOR CONFERENCE

The only basis upon which any permanent peaceful relation between labor and capital can be established is the equality of organized representation. The first and vital, nay, indispensable, condition to such a relation is the unqualified recognition by both parties of the right of organized action and the full recognition of the accredited representatives of such organization. This principle has long been advocated by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE as the natural and only ultimate solution of the present frictious relations between the two great industrial forces. The recent conference held in New York was the most hopeful, as it was the most efficient, step in this direction that has ever been made in any country. It means not merely forming a committee to adopt a compromise in some particular labor dispute, but it means getting together the accredited representatives of the largest bodies of organized capital and of organized labor, for the purpose of devising a policy by which the natural differences between capital and labor may be settled on economic terms without recourse to the methods of war.

Ever since the dawn of the wages system this has been a serious problem in industry. Employers have been profoundly impressed with the fact that they were responsible for the success of their business; that no amount of sympathy with labor or philanthropic sentiment would save them from bankruptcy if their business was not so conducted on business principles. On the other hand, with equally exacting and painful experience, the laborers have realized that if they did not do something to improve their own condition there was nobody whose duty it was to do it for them. They realized that modern ideas, modern political economy

and modern industrial methods were all built upon the theory that the laborer is a free agent; that his wages are the result of a bargain between him and his employer, and that it is his right and privilege and his duty to make the best bargain he can, and if he makes a poor one he pays the penalty. By experience, sometimes very disagreeable experience, the laborers learned that single-handed and alone they were unable to compete with their employers on these matters so long as employers had the power of discharge and the blacklist. The laborers realized that something must be done to overcome this, and it gradually came about, as it always does, that the only effective way is the natural way, namely, organization.

What was effective for the employers became necessary for the laborers. Notwithstanding the legal, social and industrial persecution in every country where labor organizations have arisen, and they have accompanied the wage and factory system everywhere, the unions grew with the development of complex corporate industrial enterprises. All this shows that labor organizations are a permanent, irresistible part of modern society. They are in fact just as permanent and as extensive, because they are just as natural, as the wage system and large corporations. Such being the fact, the only peaceful solution of whatever friction arises must be preceded by full and frank recognition of this inevitable condition. Society itself cannot exterminate either of these two forms of organization, without putting itself back to a state of industrial barbarism. There is not power enough in any form of government, however despotic, to stamp out corporations, because no individual effort will furnish any approximate equivalent of what corporate effort is furnishing. On the other hand, there is no power strong enough to stamp out labor organiza-

tions in those countries where capitalistic organization has reached any degree of proficiency in cheap production.

The true policy is always that which recognizes the inevitableness of the natural. The natural tendency in this case is for both sides to use the force of organization or collective action, because that is the line of greatest efficiency and least resistance. It is, therefore, the true economic, and hence the true ethical, line of movement. Whenever and so long as each of two great social forces, neither of which can be suppressed, refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the other, so long will there be war and the energies of both be wasted. The last half of the century just closed has witnessed exactly that wasteful contest. The struggle has been for supremacy, each trying to enforce the rule of dictation over, instead of cooperation with, the other.

The spirit in which both these movements was conceived was the spirit of arbitrary compulsion, the spirit of coercion, for the purpose of asserting the respective power of each to coerce the other. This has been so extensive and yet so unsatisfactory to both sides, and so repulsive to the whole spirit of economic equity and social peace, that it has forced the attention of responsible labor leaders and great capitalists towards a more rational and natural method of treating the subject.

The recent conference of representatives of capital and labor held in New York was the outcome of this growing sentiment and public demand for more rational and intelligent relations. When the leaders of the greatest corporations and leaders of the greatest unions in the country came together, for the express purpose of discussing this proposition, everybody was astonished at everybody else. The representatives of organized labor were astonished at the liberal frankness and great

fairness exhibited by the capitalists, and the corporation presidents as well as the bishops and philanthropists were surprised to the point of wonder at the broad comprehensive spirit revealed in the eminently sensible utterances that came from the representatives of labor unions. To the surprise of everybody, Mr. Phillips, who for more than twenty years has been the representative of the hatters' union, related the method which the laborers in this organization had through painful experience learned to adopt. He told the conference that they had learned that strikes were the poorest and most wasteful instruments that could be used in procuring labor's demands. They bred antagonism and continued bad feeling. The experience of one strike left a bitterness which waited for the opportunity to create another. They had found that the less wasteful and more efficient, and altogether the pleasanter, way was to act through joint conference. Their success had been so great that strikes had become a matter of great rarity in that organization.

After his testimony came that of Mr. Phafler, who is president of the Cox stove foundry, which he said had adopted a similar policy. His corporation recognized the wisdom of some peaceful method of adjusting their relations between the employers and the laborers, which should prevent war. Mr. Phafler and his corporation saw that the price that must inevitably be paid for any peaceful relations was to recognize the molders' union and treat them on full and equal terms. "We began our association," said Mr. Phafler, "to defend ourselves against the aggressions of the iron molders' union. We worked along those lines two or three years, fighting each issue as it arose, but we very soon learned that our point of view was wrong; that our approach to the question was wrong, and we changed the policy of the association to be one of negotiations with the men on

equal terms. There has not since been a strike in the stove industry."

In other words, the stove manufacturers, like the hatters, have learned that the only principle upon which any permanently peaceful relations are to be obtained is recognition of the equal rights of organized bodies. Of course, a controversy cannot always be adjusted to the entire satisfaction of everybody. In our courts of justice the litigation seldom results to the entire satisfaction of both defendant and plaintiff, but the all-important fact that underlies our whole judiciary system is that the decision of the last court is peacefully accepted by all. This is the principle which must be accepted in the settlement of labor contentions, and the New York conference was the first step in that direction. The hopeful fact regarding this conference is that it was not a meeting for a day. There were present men of great affairs, of hard-headed common sense, on both sides. The conference created a permanent committee composed of representatives of the greatest corporations and most successful business enterprises in the world, and the recognized leaders and chief officers of the strongest, most extensive, and most conservative labor organizations; and several additional members intended to represent the interests of the general public.

This commission is charged with the duty, not merely of aiding the peaceful settlement of disputes, but with the task of devising a working system by which corporations and labor unions can officially and effectively get together as the representatives of the great industrial forces of the community. In his remarks before the conference, Mr. Schwab said that he was in favor of labor unions if they were organized on a proper basis. It is to be hoped, and the very temperament and spirit of Mr. Schwab justifies the hope,

that he will soon take broader ground than that. If the very best results are to be accomplished (and the opportunities this time are extraordinary), the "if" must be taken out and the principle of organization unqualifiedly recognized. Mr. Schwab represents capital; he represents corporations. Why should he say when labor unions are organized on a proper basis? Suppose the labor leaders should say: We are in favor of corporations if they are organized on a proper basis. Mr. Schwab and his friends would promptly reply: It is not for you to say the basis upon which corporations should be organized. That is our affair; we are responsible for the success of this organization, not you. If we have some bad features in corporations, it is your privilege and right to criticize it and suggest improvements, but you are not responsible for the organization of the United States Steel Corporation. Laborers can say exactly that to Mr. Schwab.

It is not for capitalists to decide the basis of labor organization. It is for them to recognize fully and freely the principle of organization and the right of the laborers to organize. If in their organized action they demand foolish things, the corporations have the right, and it is their duty, as it is the duty of the public, to criticize the laborers for making these demands, and the case cited by Mr. Schwab is a very legitimate one. It is one of the mistakes growing out of the economic crudities of labor organizations that they have often made it a part of their policy to restrict the output. They used to oppose the introduction of new machinery, just the same as they used to oppose apprentices. But these are details. They are mistakes in the policy of trade unions, just the same as putting up the price, persecuting competitors and bribing politicians are mistakes in the policy of corporations. As Mr. Schwab well said, no "trust" can succeed that devotes its

organization to the forcing up of prices. The only way for the corporation to succeed is by introducing greater economies and efficiency than small concerns can command.

The mistakes of labor organizations such as Mr. Schwab referred to, and the mistakes of corporations such as he referred to, will be eliminated, not by attacking either corporations or labor unions, but by bringing the best intellectual ability and the greatest experience to bear upon them both, and the surest way to do that is, first of all, to recognize the principle of the right of both to exist. Let that once be generally recognized and the rule adopted that all questions of policy between the unions and the corporations shall be subjects of mutual consideration by equal representation of both in one common body, and the best results may confidently be expected.

RAILWAYS AND INDUSTRY

H. T. NEWCOMB

The principal characteristic of the communities that existed previous to the invention of the steam locomotive and the marine engine was their economic independence. Each was obliged, however great the attendant difficulties, to produce within itself all of the articles essential to the continuance of its existence. The limited trade that was possible between different communities involved such costly and hazardous transportation that only those articles which had the greatest value in proportion to bulk could be interchanged with profit, and these were naturally the luxuries rather than the necessities of life. Mr. Cooke Taylor has described this situation as it existed in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and contrasted it with modern conditions, as follows:

“In the first quarter of the century England was rather an aggregate of isolated districts and disunited towns than one animated, close, compact kingdom. Each city was dependent on the country in its neighborhood for food supplies; and many a district, rich in mineral or agricultural wealth, lay neglected because far from a seaport or canal. The England of to-day is the opposite of all this. It is one huge congeries, composed of various members, literally bound together with links of iron, and in instantaneous communication with every other member, and with the whole world.”*

This paragraph could be applied with few alterations to the economic history of those portions of the United States which were settled prior to the develop-

* Mr. Cooke Taylor. *Modern Factory System*, p. 362.

ment of modern means of communication and transportation. It suggests the economic position of the railway, which is really that of a means by which the system of division of labor may be applied among different geographical regions and the surplus products of particular communities transported to those which require them, and exchanged for commodities which the latter are able to produce in excess of their domestic requirements. The modern railway is, in the amount of original outlay required to supply the necessary facilities of roadbed and equipment, about the most expensive means of transportation known. The cost of railway services would be prohibitive if it was required merely on the scale in which the more primitive means of transportation that preceded it were utilized. The important difference, however, is that while with regard to the earlier forms of transportation the cost per unit of service, after a very small volume had been reached, increased in the same proportion, on the contrary, railways can almost always add largely to their traffic with relatively insignificant additions to their original plants, and usually, within narrower limits, with only slight additions to their expenditures for operation and maintenance. Thus it becomes a recognized function of railway officers to encourage the development of those special local industries which are able to produce articles for shipment to other communities, and the development of local capabilities for particular forms of production invariably leads to the creation of new lines of transportation and increases the prosperity of those in existence.

That railways make the local specialization of industrial functions possible, and increase the productivity of labor by permitting the assignment to each region of the particular forms of industry for which it has the greatest natural advantages, is probably gener-

ally understood. Few, however, realize that even in the United States the process is by no means complete, or are aware how rapidly it is going forward.

Reliable general statistics of the services performed by the railways of the United States begin with 1880, the year of the tenth census. The following data show the population, railway freight movement and freight movement per capita during the years 1880, 1890 and 1900:

Year.	Population.	Freight movement in ton miles.	Freight move- ment per capita in ton miles.
1880 . . .	50,155,783	32,348,846,693	645
1890 . . .	62,947,714	76,207,047,298	1,211
1900 . . .	76,085,794	141,599,157,270	1,861

The figures in the column headed "freight movement in ton miles" are equivalent to the total tonnage carried by rail during the years to which they refer, multiplied by the average distance traversed by each shipment, and constitute the most accurate measure, from the point of view of railway patrons, of the aggregate services performed which it is possible to conceive. Even those who are quite familiar with recent industrial development must be profoundly impressed by the notable increase in the amount of transportation performed per capita which has occurred within the relatively brief period of two decades. In twenty years, as appears from the figures in the foregoing statement, the population of the continental territory of the United States, including Indian territory, but exclusive of Alaska, increased 51.70 per cent., but in the same period the freight transportation performed by the railways within their borders increased 337.73 per cent., or more than six and one-half times as fast as population. The same fact is expressed in another way by the statement that the average freight movement per capita in-

creased between 1880 and 1900 188.53 per cent. In other words, the average inhabitant of the United States had more than two and three-quarters times as much freight transportation performed for him in the closing year of the nineteenth century as he required twenty years earlier.

By far the larger portion of passenger travel is undertaken in connection with industry and trade. Probably the common view tends to exaggerate the importance of pleasure travel as a factor in the total passenger movement, but a little consideration will show that much of this has an economic basis. That is, people who require a certain amount of recreation in the form of travel, or in the forms that are available only in great centers of population, will not agree to become producers in remote and scantily populated regions, no matter how great the pecuniary gain, unless they are provided with certain opportunities for rapid and comfortable travel. Statistics of railway passenger travel, therefore, afford some measure of the services to industry performed by the American railway system. The total passenger movement, reduced to its equivalent in miles traversed by a single passenger, and the movement per capita are shown below for the years 1880, 1890 and 1900:

Year.	Passenger miles.	Passenger miles per capita of total population.
1880	5,740,112,502	114
1890	11,847,785,617	188
1900	16,039,007,217	211

The increase in population from 1880 to 1890 was 25.50 per cent., and that in railway passenger movement 106.40 per cent. From 1890 to 1900 population increased 20.87 per cent. and passenger movement 35.38 per cent. The lower rate of increase in the

second decade shown is attributable to the development of electric railways, and the consequent diversion of suburban, and in some instances of inter-urban, travel away from the steam railways. The total increase in steam railway passenger travel in the two decades amounted to 179.42 per cent. of the travel of 1880, and compares with an increase in population of 51.70 per cent. The average American, including men, women and children, now travels 211 miles by railway annually, or 85.09 per cent. farther than in 1880.

The reports of Professor Henry C. Adams, statistician to the interstate commerce commission, make possible the localization of the data which show the industrial services rendered by the railways. The following statement shows, for different sections of the United States, the development of freight and passenger movement between 1890 and 1900:

Regions.	Passenger movement.			Freight movement.		
	Passenger miles.		Incr. from 1890 to 1900.	Ton miles.		Incr. from 1890 to 1900.
	1890.	1900.		1890.	1900.	
Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island.....	1,734,105,473	2,027,534,517	16.92	2,847,702,127	4,475,446,705	57.16
New Jersey, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New York (east of Buffalo), Pennsylvania (east of Pitsburg), West Virginia (north of Parkersburg).....	3,156,397,470	4,406,499,799	39.61	23,236,827,478	41,275,547,319	77.63
Ohio, Indiana, Michigan (southern peninsula), New York (west of Buffalo), Pennsylvania (west of Pitsburg).....	1,788,700,621	2,958,334,516	26.25	16,592,413,278	29,393,266,712	76.55
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia (south of Parkersburg).....	372,643,189	528,646,807	41.86	2,805,710,377	7,043,765,983	145.79
Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana (east of Mississippi River).....	744,142,698	972,836,672	30.74	4,841,473,220	10,063,906,698	107.64
Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri (north of St. Louis), South Dakota (east of Missouri River), North Dakota (east of Missouri River), Michigan (upper peninsula).....	1,912,130,053	2,762,671,336	44.48	14,377,798,303	20,066,676,816	81.44
Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Colorado (north of Denver), South Dakota (west of Missouri River), North Dakota (west of Missouri River).....	406,410,830	457,441,462	12.55	2,376,790,938	3,980,211,310	67.84
Kansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Colorado (south of Denver), Texas (panhandle) New Mexico (north of Santa Fe).....	783,935,330	1,018,767,349	29.95	5,161,090,295	9,170,114,218	77.68
Texas (except panhandle), Louisiana (west of Mississippi River), New Mexico (east of El Paso and south of Santa Fe).....	268,090,433	443,706,332	66.50	1,963,064,548	4,322,337,674	120.34
Washington, Idaho, California, Oregon, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico (west of El Paso).....	681,050,714	1,192,408,427	70.68	1,944,116,744	6,896,823,836	202.80

The facts shown in the foregoing statement require little comment. The development of railway traffic has clearly proceeded more rapidly in each district than the increase in population, but the greatest increases appear on the Pacific coast, in the South and Southwest. These data testify strongly of the industrial upbuilding of those regions that is now in progress. The increase in freight movement of 145.79 per cent. in the district including Virginia and the Carolinas is especially notable.

In considering the growth of railway transportation it is important to note that it has resulted in a larger utilization of existing railway facilities and has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in railway mileage. This is shown by the following figures, which indicate the density of traffic at different periods:

Year ended June 30—	Movement during year per mile of line.	
	Passengers carried one mile.	Tons of Freight carried one mile.
1880	65,434	368,757
1890	72,421	465,822
1900	82,955	732,362

In other words the efficiency of the average mile of American railway has increased more than twenty-six per cent. as a carrier of passengers and has practically doubled as a carrier of freight in twenty years. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the average mile was very different in the year 1900 from that which would have been equally representative twenty years earlier. The superior efficiency of the present day is largely attributable to the increased weight of rails, the reduction of grades, the elimination of curves or the lengthening of their radii and to many other improvements which have permitted the use of larger cars and heavier locomotives.

At no time in the history of American industry has

so large a proportion of the population of the United States been employed in managing and operating railways as at present. The relation between total population and the number of railway employees in 1880, 1890 and 1900 is shown below:

Year.	Population.	Number of railway employees.	Number of railway employees per 10,000 of total population.
1880 .	50,155,783	418,957	84
1890 .	62,947,714	749,301	119
1900 .	76,085,794	1,017,653	134

Thus as railway transportation has gained a more important industrial position, the railways have naturally called into their service an increasing proportion of the country's citizens. In this connection attention may be called to the fact that the wages paid by railway corporations during the year 1880 amounted in the aggregate to \$195,350,013, or an annual average of \$466 per employee. The sum paid in wages in 1900 was \$577,264,841 and the average per employee was \$567. As the railways have gathered into their service more of the labor force of the country the efficiency of each labor unit has been increased so that the augmentation of the number of employees has not been proportionate to the increase in work accomplished. The average traffic movement per employee at the end of each of the last three decades was as follows:

Year.	Traffic movement per railway employee.	
	Passengers carried one mile.	Tons of Freight carried one mile.
1880	13,701	77,213
1890	15,812	101,704
1900	15,761	139,143

As it would be impossible to classify all employees as belonging respectively to the passenger or the freight departments, the services of many belonging indistinguishably to both branches of railway work, it

would be impossible to state the separate efficiency of the average employee in terms of passenger movement or freight movement. The meaning of the foregoing figures is, for example, that one employee was on the pay rolls in the year 1900 for each 15,761 passengers carried one mile *and* each 139,143 tons of freight moved an equal distance. Inferences only can be had from the foregoing, because it is impossible to determine the relation between passenger-miles and ton-miles so closely as to say how much of the increase in freight movement per employee between 1890 and 1900 should be regarded as merely balancing the slight decrease in passenger movement per employe.

The average per capita of population payment for railway services was higher in the year 1900 than in 1890 or 1880; that is, the average citizen having demanded and received a largely increased quantity of both passenger and freight transportation, did not obtain it without some additional payment. The following statement shows the facts of principal importance in this connection:

Year.	Passenger Services.			Freight Services.			All Railway Services.
	Passengers carried one mile per capita of population.	Average railway rate per passenger mile.	Average payment per capita of population.	Tons carried one mile per capita of population.	Average railway rate per ton per mile.	Average payment per capita of population.	Total payment per capita of population.
		Cents.	\$		Cents.	\$	\$
1880.....	114	2.442	2.78	545	1.282	7.95	10.73
1890.....	188	2.167	4.07	1,211	.941	11.40	15.47
1900.....	211	2.003	4.23	1,861	.729	13.57	17.80

To those who are accustomed to the examination of tabulated data the foregoing conveys more than any textual analysis. It shows that, although the average American received almost twice as much passenger transportation during 1900 as in 1880 and nearly three times as much freight transportation, his expenditure for both together was but 65.89 per cent. greater in the later than in the earlier year. Although the per capita railway movement of passengers increased 85.09 per cent. in the two decades, the per capita payment for those services increased but 52.16 per cent. During the last decade the increase in services was 12.23 per cent. and in the payment therefor 3.93 per cent. Similar computations in connection with freight traffic present even more striking results. The increased movement per capita from 1880 to 1900 was equal to 188.53 per cent. of that of the earlier year, but the cost per capita increased only 70.69 per cent. For the decade from 1890 to 1900, the corresponding figures show increase in movement 53.67 per cent. and in payment 19.04 per cent.

The least consideration should convince anyone that even these relatively small increases in individual expenditure for transportation would not have been voluntarily assumed, as they were, had they not been the means of effecting a greater saving in the other expenditures in the personal budget, or, to speak more accurately, had they not increased the efficiency of the total expenditures as a means of satisfying economic desires. This is the real clue to the profound change that railways have wrought in economic relations and explains the character of the modifications in the methods of industrial association that, as has been shown, are still going on with great rapidity. When the industrial investigations of the twelfth census have been completed, and the facts concerning agri-

culture and manufactures have been reported and are available for comparisons with those discovered by earlier censuses, it will be possible to trace these changes more definitely and to state many of them statistically.

At present it is desirable merely to register the observation that transportation is essentially a labor-saving device. It is never resorted to in connection with property and rarely for persons except in order to render the productive processes less laborious. Articles are carried to the place of consumption when the total cost of raising or manufacturing them and carrying them there is less than that of producing them (without transportation) where they are to be used. Otherwise they are raised or manufactured where they are finally wanted. The increase in transportation, therefore, means increased efficiency of labor, lower costs of production, and greater local specialization of industrial functions. More labor is now expended in transportation than at any time in the world's history, but it has been made available by the fact that it has reduced by an even larger amount the aggregate labor required to produce the vast complex of commodities that makes up the world's annual subsistence. This is the change to which the American railway system has contributed so abundantly and so efficiently not only during the last two decades but throughout its entire history.

CAN WE RAISE OUR OWN SUGAR?

J. S. CRAWFORD

I. BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY IN EUROPE

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, American exporters sold in foreign countries wheat to the amount of \$73,000,000; corn to the amount of \$85,000,000; beef to the amount of \$42,000,000, and hog products amounting to \$112,000,000. These figures are taken from memoranda furnished by the bureau of statistics in the treasury department at Washington. In the same year American merchants paid \$100,250,000 to foreign dealers for sugar. A large portion of this sum went to the beet-root growers of France, Germany and Austria. We send abroad more money for sugar than for any other one article. Coffee comes next. But the combined cost of our importations of coffee, wine, tea and manufactured silk is less than our sugar bill. In a report from Berlin, Consul-General Goldschmidt quotes with approval the following language:

"It required every pound of the wheat and flour exported by the United States to pay for the sugar imported. The total value of all live and dressed beef, beef products and lard exported during the past year barely equalled the amount paid for imported sugar. Our immense export trade in cotton represents in value only twice as much as our imports of sugar. Our vast exports of tobacco must be magnified thrice to counterbalance our sugar imports. The barley, oats and rye, fruits and nuts, hops, vegetable oils, oleomargarine, butter and cheese, pork and hams that were exported last year altogether represent in value only two-thirds of the sugar imported."

Citizens of this country pride themselves on the prodigious volume of their surplus farm products. They justly regard agriculture as the basis of their wealth, and frequently boast that they are able to supply the demand of the old world for bread and meat.

In connection with this it is a singular fact that we complacently pay out for the importation of one agricultural product alone nearly all the receipts from our exports of wheat or beef, and a large portion of these payments go to European farmers who live in about the same latitude as our own wheat growers. Neither have these European farmers any advantage over us in soil, climate or natural conditions. Then why do we not export sugar to them, the same as we export bread-stuffs and meat-products? To push the inquiry further, Why do we allow them to supply our tables with this article so staple, and, in the aggregate, so costly?

This inquiry opens up a large question—a question that presents three general aspects which I shall examine in the following order: 1. The view of the European farmer and manufacturer. 2. The view of the American farmer and manufacturer. 3. The view presented from the standpoint of general economics.

On the 16th day of October, in 1900, I visited a sugar-beet farm and beet-sugar factory at Souppes, on the Lyon railroad, fifty miles south of Paris. The regional appearance of this portion of France is very much like that shown in Millet's delightful painting, *l'Angelus*. The ground is clayey and the soil shows a trace of red sand. I was surprised to see how hard the fields were. The newly plowed land broke up in chunks, some of which were eight inches thick and so refractory that it was difficult to crush them with the heel. I was told, however, that the winter rains would pulverize, or at least reduce, these clods, so that the land might easily be put in planting condition. The French have a scientific agriculture, intensive and prolific. It is based on the most patient industry and the most careful use of stable manures and commercial fertilizers.

I made a tour of one sugar-beet field containing

one hundred and fifty acres and could not find a single noxious weed. This statement will be challenged by American readers accustomed to western methods. But the French have cultivated their fields so carefully since the revolution that the weed-seed is not allowed to mature. A hundred years of close cultivation has tended to exterminate noxious plants and settle the weed question. Of course in the turn-rows and next the hedges some blue grass and red clover may be found, but even these are subdued before any damage is done.

The beets on this farm at Souppes were planted in rows seventeen inches apart, and the hills were ten inches apart in the row. Only one beet is allowed to mature in a hill. The yield was nine and one-half tons per acre, which is one ton below the average in France, showing that these roots were undersize. The superintendent of the field-work told me that the beets contained ten per cent. sugar, while the manager of the factory reported an output of twelve per cent. I think that even the latter figure is a shade too low. This farm is connected with a factory and both are owned by M. Ouvré, who is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, representing a district in the department of the Seine at Marne. A large portion of the region about Souppes is cultivated in beets. The soil seems to be splendidly adapted to wheat, of which it produces an average crop of thirty-eight bushels per acre. The factory slices five hundred tons of beets a day and sacks 140,000 pounds of granulated sugar. This is the best index of the percentage of saccharine matter in the roots.

The working season usually begins October first, and lasts one hundred days. If the yield is large, the period may be extended to four months. This factory will soon increase its output by installing slicing sta-

tions eight or ten miles from the main works. From these auxiliaries the thin juice will be piped to the central plant for clarifying and condensing, and here the "masse cuite" will be refined and crystallized into sugar.

This factory is a brick structure. Like most French works it is strongly and permanently put up. It is equipped with a laboratory for assaying the beets, and has an annex for burning the lime used to clarify the juice. It is supplied with an abundance of running water for washing the beets, and has large coal sheds with branch tracks to the Lyon railroad. Soft coal is used. The most of it is shipped from the mines at Mons near the Belgian frontier. When I was there steam coal cost, at the factory, eight dollars per ton, and it has advanced since. The beets are delivered in carts and cars. After weighing they are dumped in yards adjoining the factory grounds. The roots are piled three feet high, and after the season is well advanced occupy acres of ground in these yards. They are handled in wheelbarrows to the washing sluices. Indeed, all the lime and coal is handled from the sheds in hand cars and wheelbarrows.

The factory employs three hundred hands, and pays for common labor four francs, or seventy-five cents, per day. Skilled labor commands from eight to ten francs per day. Beets grown on contract and delivered at the works bring five dollars a ton. Land around Souppes is worth from three hundred to four hundred dollars an acre. Its rental value is not less than ten dollars per annum. It costs nine dollars every three years to fertilize the soil. Now, how can Frenchmen pay these high rents, with the cost of fertilizers, with the high price of coal, with the cross-ocean transportation, and with a custom-house duty of over one and a half cents a pound, then supply a great agricultural country like the United States with a purely agricultu-

ral product? Is the sweetness of the French beet high enough or the yield of the French crop great enough to compensate for these charges? As the investigation proceeds, answers to these questions will disclose themselves.

The topography of northern France and adjacent Belgium resembles that of an Iowa prairie. Root crops, such as turnips, rutabagas, potatoes, mangel-wurzels and sugar beets are grown extensively. The battlefield of Waterloo is largely cultivated in turnips and beets, with long stretches of red clover intervening. The Belgium farmer is not so industrious as his French neighbor, neither do his fields look so neat. But his soil is rich. It resembles the silt or "gumbo" of the Missouri river bottoms in Nebraska and Iowa. Much of this great plain reaching into Holland is annually planted to sugar beets. The industry has been in a thriving condition. Until recently an annual dividend of fifteen per cent. was expected on sugar-plant investments, and frequently more was realized. Coal is a little cheaper than further south and the yield of roots one ton more per acre.

Dr. François Sachs of Brussels is a specialist in beet chemistry, and he has written several works on methods of carbonatation with milk of lime—that is, separating impurity, etc. I called upon him in his laboratory one day last autumn and found him busy with experiments for his clients, most of whom are factories in Germany, Belgium and Holland. Many of these European specialists and engineers are suspicious of American visitors, fearing that they will acquire information which, applied in this country, will hurt their markets. This feeling is so strong that, in some of the German cities, American consuls declined to assist me in obtaining facts concerning methods of producing beet-seed or preparing the soil for ordinary

field culture. Many of the French factories will not admit an American visitor under any circumstances. Consuls are reluctant, therefore, about resisting the order of things, as it might compromise their social standing. This statement does not, however, apply to Consul-General Mason of Berlin, Consuls Diederich and Muth of other German cities, nor to Consul-General Gowdy of Paris.

Therefore, contrary to the general custom, Dr. Sachs received me cordially and answered my questions with candor and directness. He showed me the results of his analyses, which I deem very important. They verify, except in minor details, the tables of Consul Diederich, which are printed in another place. Dr. Sachs told me that one of the great problems is how to get all of the sugar out of the "masse cuite." He also stated that in the best methods so far devised not all of the sweetness released from the beet will crystallize, neither is the molasses remaining over edible or merchantable, except as it is mixed with dried beet leaves and sold for fodder. In moderate quantities this compound is a valuable ration for cattle and sheep. But when overfed it purges animals. Dr. Sachs explained to me the full value of the sliced beet after the juice is diffused. This pulp, called cossettes, makes an excellent feed for sheep and dairy cows. In France and Germany the cossettes are worth two dollars a ton, and when mixed with grain are even fed to beef-oxen. The doctor declined to give me any information as to the manner of plowing the ground and preparing it for planting. He said this involved technical questions which did not come within his specialty, but directed me to M. Laurent-Mouchon, *officier du merite agricole*, who lives at Orchies. I cite this interesting fact to show how far the technical industries of continental

Europe are under the control of specialists, and with what comity these specialists treat each other.

There are three hundred and ninety-five beet-sugar factories in Germany, a large portion of them being in Old Saxony, not far from Magdeburg. Germany has a slight advantage over France in that the beets yield one ton more per acre; the saccharine matter is one per cent. higher and the cost of coal considerably less. But rental values, fertilizers, labor and freight rates are slightly higher than in France.

April 23, 1901, Henry W. Diederich, American consul at Bremen, sent a report to the State Department at Washington, which is the most concise, complete and satisfactory document yet compiled on this branch of the question. I beg leave to present the following statistics taken from this report, omitting those which relate to Belgium and Austria-Hungary:

Sugar Beet Industry in Germany, France and Russia.

Year.	Number of factories.	Acreage.	Beets per acre.	Sugar per acre.	Per cent. of sugar in beets.	Sugar production.	Sugar export.	Sugar consumption.	Sugar consumption per capita.
<i>Germany.</i>			<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>		<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>
1890-91.....	406	825,825	13.03	1.5	12.09	1,386,220	747,571	470,253	23.24
1895-96.....	397	930,749	12.55	1.73	13.11	1,615,111	952,637	668,860	31.22
1900-1901....	395	1,095,790	12.06	1.79	14.91	1,970,000	.....	875,000	.....
<i>France.</i>									
1890-91.....	377	547,574	11.3	1.21	10.7	685,469	316,560	501,973	.....
1895-96.....	356	505,851	10.7	1.36	12.7	659,606	248,388	458,657	.....
1900-1901....	342	685,391	10.79	1.62	15.01	1,110,000	.....	618,000	.....
<i>Russia.</i>									
1890-91.....	222	767,601	6.4	0.67	10.48	520,000	87,013	378,222	.....
1895-96.....	229	852,599	6.4	0.88	13.75	754,968	181,454	505,960	.....
1900-1901....	268	1,356,075	4.7	0.65	13.83	890,000	.....	700,000	.....

Men who have tried to acquire trustworthy figures concerning the beet sugar industry in Europe need not be told that the above exhibit represents much work and research. From the analyses of Dr. Sachs and from copies of data which I made *in extenso* at the Paris

Exposition in 1900, I am convinced that Mr. Diedrich's tables are the best so far correlated and compiled. It will be noticed that the number of German factories has decreased while the output of sugar has increased. This comes from centralizing the fabrication by building auxiliaries from which the thin juice is piped to the main plant.

In the days of Frederick the Great Germany imported all her sugar. The hard practical sense of Frederick sought to circumvent this state of things, which was enriching the merchants of Amsterdam and developing the colonies of Holland. He therefore offered prizes for the production of domestic sugar. At first beets did not yield over five or six per cent. of sweetness, and the juice was boiled into a black, thick syrup in open iron kettles. Through difficulty and disaster, however, the business expanded until, in 1870, Germany began to export sugar in quantity. In a similar way Napoleon the First developed the industry in France. It is extremely interesting to note that as beet-sugar began to shut out colonial sugar, the trouble between Spain and Cuba became intensified. The cane-sugar markets were demoralized, and the Cubans failing to discover the real cause attributed it to arbitrary power rather than to economic law.

The population of the British Isles consumes more sugar per capita than any other people in the world, and this market is largely supplied by Germany. Last year the German merchants alone exported 1,095,000 tons of beet-sugar, the major part of it going to the United Kingdom and the United States.

Technical knowledge is farther advanced in Germany than in any other country. Superintendents of the large farms must be graduates from technical schools. Every question is scientifically examined. For instance, the topographical anatomy of the leaf

and root is now receiving much attention. German scientists claim that the marginal region of the leaf draws the elements of sugar from the air, and that it is elaborated on its course to the central part of the root, where it is deposited in the highest ratio found in the plant. German seed is produced from mother-beets selected by testing in the laboratory, thus the high percentage of sweetness obtained is an evolution of breeding which would soon become degenerated and debased by neglect or ignorance. A large number of these technical superintendents come from the schools at Brunswick. In this connection I am glad to note that the Michigan Agricultural College has established a department which gives a course in the science of beet-farming and sugar fabrication.

The Austrians seem to have given most attention to diseases of the beet, such as the leaf and root blight, heart rot and brown root rot, leaf scorch and fungi growths. They have also accumulated much data concerning the damage of blister beetles, cut-worms, web-worms, caterpillars, etc.

Austria began to export sugar in 1862, and now sells two-thirds of all she makes. I will close this survey of the European sugar industry by noting that Roumania, Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Russia have been important agents in revolutionizing the sugar trade and reducing the cane product to a second place. Granulated beet-sugar may be produced in Germany for three cents a pound, which is less than the best granulated cane sugar can be laid down for, in Berlin, from either the East Indies or the West Indies. At the universal exposition at Paris all these countries competed in sugar-beet displays. Not only were great cones and confections of the product on exhibition, but there were washing devices, slicing knives, diffusion batteries, multiple effects, filters, vacuum pans, centri-

fugals, pumps, crystallizers, etc., made by the rich old manufacturing houses of Budapest, Paris and Berlin. In an Austrian section was a model factory supplemented with a retrospective exhibit which showed the evolution of each machine installed therein. Scientific instruments, such as polariscopes, saccharometers, and apparatus for measuring the respiration of plants, were shown in great variety and abundance. Everywhere among the promoters, mechanics and workmen, extending even to the field laborers, was a spirit of enthusiasm characterizing no other European industry.

And in this there is danger. I am certain that these old countries cannot develop their beet-sugar business much further without new markets. With them it must be now a conservative policy or a collapse.

II. POSSIBILITIES OF BEET SUGAR IN THE UNITED STATES

Before the civil war a half-hearted effort was made to introduce the beet-sugar industry into New England. It failed. Soon after the war another effort was made in Wisconsin. That failed also. In the year 1870 it was found that a beet of rare excellence grew in California. Soon after a factory was built in Alvarado. This enterprise passed through a formative or experimental period until 1899, when it was bought by the Alameda Sugar Company, and has developed into a great success. It is the first beet-sugar factory in the United States that made any money for its owners. A dozen or fifteen years ago Mr. Henry T. Oxnard became interested, and his concern, the American Beet Company, now operates several factories in California and Nebraska. Mr. Claus Spreckles also became interested, and the Spreckels Sugar Company owns several of the largest factories on the Pacific coast, if not in the world.

From this start in California the business soon spread into Utah, Colorado and Nebraska. Shortly before 1896 it was found that Michigan produced a beet rich in sugar content. That state now has eleven factories in operation, with others in process of construction.

The combined output of the American factories is estimated by United States officers at 166,000 tons of granulated sugar this year. As the people of the United States consumed last year 2,219,000 tons, it follows that it will require over three hundred more factories to supply our own demand. Are the natural and economic conditions such that it is prudent to advise the construction of these three hundred factories?

For a time the federal government paid a small bounty on domestic sugar. This subsidy was withdrawn by the repeal of the McKinley tariff act in 1894. For a time, too, some of the states paid a bounty on the beet sugar manufactured within their own limits. But most of this aid has also been withdrawn, so that further effort to exploit this industry must be based upon the inherent merit and promise of the enterprise. The repeal of these bounties has reduced the price of raw beets, creating friction between farmers and factories.

I come now to the real question: What are the natural and essential requisites to the production of sugar from beet-roots in the United States? These requisites are of two kinds: 1. Those relating to the farm. 2. Those relating to the factory. It requires roots of ten per cent. saccharine matter to get back the first cost of raising the crop and fabricating the sugar. An assay of twelve per cent. pays the farmer and the factory a fair profit. Richer beets, of course, insure richer returns. For some years H. W. Wiley, chief of the division of chemistry in the United States depart-

ment of agriculture, has rendered valuable service to this branch of industry. Over 40,000 pounds of seed imported from the beet growers of France and Germany have been freely distributed to experiment stations and to farmers in various parts of the union. Specimen beets have been franked through the mails to the division of chemistry for special analysis. These analyses have been compiled into tables and are printed in the report of the secretary of agriculture. For the last four years these tables show an average in the most promising states as follows: California, 14.1 per cent.; Colorado, 13.8 per cent.; Idaho, 13 per cent.; Illinois, 10.9 per cent.; Massachusetts, 13.8 per cent.; Michigan, 13 per cent.; Minnesota, 11.5 per cent.; Nebraska, 11.8 per cent.; Nevada, 17.7 per cent.; New Jersey, 12.3 per cent.; New Mexico, 14.3 per cent.; New York, 13.4 per cent.; Oregon, 13 per cent.; Utah, 14.2 per cent.; Washington, 13.7 per cent.; Wisconsin, 14.1 per cent.; Indiana, 11.5 per cent.; Iowa, 11.8 per cent.

One of the disappointments in this table is the low average of sweetness found in beets grown upon the upland prairies in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. On the western border of Iowa is a strip of Missouri river bottom land from ten to twenty miles wide. This year, between the towns of Onawa and Missouri Valley, fifteen hundred acres of beets were raised for the Nebraska markets. I recently visited this section and found that the lowest beets raised this year have fourteen per cent. sacchrose, and the yield is from ten to twenty tons per acre. The season was exceedingly dry, and the corn is less than one-third of a crop, while beets are at least two-thirds of a crop. So that these valley farmers are well pleased with the returns of their venture. Much of this bottom ground is silt, locally called "gumbo." As the crop is comparatively

safe from hail and high winds it is only a question of time till a factory will be built in this locality. As beets may be profitably shipped by rail a distance of thirty miles farmers on the uplands will have an opportunity to test their ground practically for beet growing. It is hard to understand why these upland prairies do not show better results. In no other country are cultural conditions so favorable and the cost of tillage so little as in these prairie states. It will be a regrettable fact if the sugar ratio falls below the standard of twelve per cent. I am hoping that it will be raised by general knowledge of the subject disseminated from our experimental stations, which have always taken a lively interest in developing a better agriculture.

My studies of this question in Europe and America lead me to suggest the following general plan of cultivation: Plant beets after small grain. Plow the stubble ground shallow, and as early in September as possible. After the weed seed germinates plow again. This time the ground must be stirred from twelve to fifteen inches deep. A good way is to set the stirring plow eight inches deep and follow with a sub-soiler say six inches deeper. At Ames, Nebraska, a disc plow, called the "secretary," is in popular use. This tool will cut down twelve or fifteen inches, but only turns the upper half. A sub-soiler must not be used in the spring.

The ground does not have time to settle, which impairs capillary nourishment. In parts of France and Germany the soil is heavy, and steam plows are used to advantage. Start the harrow in the spring as soon as the ground is dry. This will start the second crop of weeds. Just before planting disc and harrow again until there is a good seed bed; then roll till the dirt is compacted, for beet seed will not germinate in

loose soil. In some places an old-fashioned tool called a "lizzard" is used in place of a roller. It floats the ground smooth and at the same time compacts it. This crop may be planted from the twentieth of April to the first of June. Mr. H. Scilley, field superintendent of the factory at Ames, Nebraska, prefers early planting and early harvesting. He says an early crop is less expensive to handle in a climate where cold weather sets in before the middle of December, and that a greater proportion of the yield can be worked up before the late fall rains stimulate a regrowth. My own judgment is that planting graduated through a month of springtime makes both the cultivating and harvesting an easier matter. A French proverb has it: "The seed should see the sower depart and hear the Angelus ring." So French farmers do not cover their beet seed more than half an inch. In loose soil an inch is not too much, and the dirt must be packed around the seed, filling the depressions in the hull to aid germination.

Four-row planters are used, which sow the seed in drills eighteen inches apart. The plants must be afterward thinned into hills ten inches apart. As in cotton fields, this is done by cutting through the hills with eight-inch hoes, leaving the growing plants in bunches to be thinned and weeded by hand. Finally there must be only one plant left in each hill. Thus it will be seen that more than three-fourths of the seed is wasted. This waste would be avoided by a successful planter, which would deposit the seed with a "force-feed." Sugar beet-seed costs from two to three dollars per acre, so that the saving in this article and in labor would be considerable. Here is an index to the conservatism of continental Europe, where beets have been grown for a hundred years, yet no one has perfected a hill-planter. American implement firms are now experimenting, and it is safe to predict that they will soon

exploit improvements on the machines in use. To aid in the cultivation, the rows should be lined out as nearly straight as possible. It is estimated that a square foot of ground will produce a beet weighing one pound. Oversized and undersized roots are deficient in sweetness. Those weighing a pound and a half are preferred; the size is controlled largely by the distance between hills.

In many places a four-row cultivator is used adjustable to the same measure as the planter. But the best farmers realize that in this country horse cultivation must be carried to the utmost limit—a fact which is bringing the two-row machine into favor. With this cultivator a boy skilled in plowing corn can the more nearly approach the hand work done with the hoe. These plows have shields to protect the “bull-tongue” growing beets, and the ground near the beets is stirred with shovels. The “middles” between the rows is scarified with a blade called a “goose-foot,” which runs two or three inches below the surface, according as the fibrous roots of the beet strike into the soil. This cultivation must begin as soon as the plants are up and continue as long as the plow and plow-horse do no damage to the stalks and leaves.

The purpose from the onset is to keep control of the weeds. Hoeing in the rows and thinning must be done by hand. This is the part of beet raising which repels the American farmer. Indeed, he will not do it. He would rather raise corn at a gross income of ten dollars an acre than get down on his knees and work in a beet field at a net income of twenty-five dollars an acre. It is fortunate that this work can be done by boys and girls in the upper grades of the schools, as it comes in vacation time. Frequently they need the wages earned, and more frequently they need to acquire habits of industry and respect for labor. At any rate, sugar-

beet fields must be kept clean. The land must be plowed deep, so that the roots will grow down shapely and naturally. This crop poorly tended or grown in shallow plowing will have sprangled roots, exposed crowns, deficient sweetness and will produce a light tonnage. It is said that, next to the chrysanthemum, the sugar-beet is the most highly-bred plant in the world. Therefore it is sensitive, responding quickly to care, degenerating just as quickly in neglect. As the crop matures it is well to go through the field and break off all the stalks which show a tendency to go to seed.

The beet matures in the latter part of September and in October. It is harvested with a two-horse puller, which simply loosens the root and leaves it in the ground, where it may remain for several days without damage. These beets are then lifted out of the hills by hand, the top and crown cut off and the roots thrown in windrows ready for hauling. If there is danger of freezing, these windrows are siloed with the tops and earth. Siloed beets are quoted at twenty-five cents a ton higher than those harvested earlier. This is to cover cost of extra work. Beets sliced when frozen are not impaired; if allowed to thaw they are damaged. To expedite unloading some factories furnish a rope netting which fits into the empty wagon-box; this net is hoisted out with a crane carrying the load with it. At other factories the wagon is driven onto a counter-poised platform and the beets dumped into chutes, which discharge into bins adjoining the conveying sluices. Counting tax, rent, seed, labor and hauling three miles, it cost \$31.50 to raise one acre of beets in Iowa. An average yield in this state is fourteen tons per acre—two higher than in the extreme West, and the contract price is four dollars a ton. These figures are conservative and show a net profit of \$24.50 an acre. These figures discover the reason why French and German merchants ship large

invoices of sugar to America, here to be consumed by farmers who are not realizing half that sum in the net for their corn and cattle.

Sugar beets ought not to be grown on the same land more than once in three years. The intervening crops should be corn, clover or potatoes, oats, wheat or other small grains. If the land is fertilized from the stable, it should be one year at least before the beets are sown. In porous ground the tap root will penetrate four or five feet, a fact well known to be beneficial to the land. The leaf is large, drawing much of its substance from the air. These leaves are excellent forage. The fodder is said to be worth three dollars an acre. The Standard Cattle Company at Ames, Nebraska, is feeding this year 20,000 sheep and 1,000 cattle. Mr. R. M. Allen, the manager of this company, told me that he would use all the pulp made by the sugar factory at his place. Hon. James Wilson, secretary of the department of agriculture, has given much attention to the feeding qualities of beets. He enthusiastically declares that nothing would promote American dairy interests faster than the extensive use of this product for fodder.

I realize that it will be difficult to enlist the co-operation of farmers in the prairie states for two reasons: First, they are now doing well in lines of agriculture with which they are familiar; and second, the farms are so large that to many it would seem impossible to get the labor necessary to raise and handle the crop. These difficulties, however, are artificial and will vanish when the industry passes out of its formative and experimental stage. So far fungus growths and other diseases have not been serious in the United States, neither have the ravages of birds and insects. In some places the growing crops have been injured by floods, and in others fall rains have stimulated a regrowth. The beet is sensitive to fall rains, but a few

drying days restore the sweetness. And certainly drizzling fall days are not so prevalent in this country as in France and Germany.

To operate a sugar-beet factory successfully requires an annual supply of 50,000 tons of roots; 10,000 tons of coal, 4,000 tons of lime rock, 500 tons of coke, an abundance of water and good shipping connections. Such a factory will consume 500 tons of beets per day. It will employ 225 men in two 12-hour shifts. This factory will cost not less than \$500,000, and ought to manufacture 5,500 tons of granulated sugar each factory year. Such a plant can consume the product of 4,000 acres of beets, and will distribute among the farmers not less than \$200,000 per annum. Its wage-bill depends largely upon its location. In any event it will amount to a large sum of money. A notion prevails in some quarters that water of a certain composition only may be used. I consulted Dr. Wiley on this point, and he assures me that river water will do for washing the raw beets, while any water agreeable to the palate may be used in the refining process. In order to put my statements into concrete form, let me close this review of the factory conditions with a short description of the Standard Sugar Company's works at Ames, Nebraska.

The building is 100 x 400 feet. It has a steel frame with brick walls between the posts. It has a truss roof and is four stories high. It has cement floors throughout and the structure is fire-proof. There is an annex containing a power-house and a continuous lime-kiln. There is also a detached wooden beet-shed 100 x 400 feet. All the machinery stands upon independent foundations. The whole plant is well lighted, well ventilated, and has a clean, cheerful, open interior. When loaded wagons arrive they are weighed and samples of the beets taken for the testings. The

loads are then driven to the sheds and dumped into bins under which runs a covered cement sluice-way. When the beets are needed this cover is removed and the roots tumble into running water, which conveys them into the main building, where an auger elevator lifts them to a bucket elevator on the second floor, thence they are lifted to the washer on the fourth floor. Upon leaving the washer they are automatically weighed, and dumped in half-ton lots into the slicing-machine below. If necessary, this one machine will slice one thousand tons of beets a day. The cossettes come out white and clean about the size of the smallest macaroni. They are now taken by a belt conveyor to a diffusion battery, which separates the juice from the cossettes by soaking in warm water—a simple process. Yet the battery consists of twelve large barrel-shaped metallic tanks or cells, connected by an intricate system of water-pipes and steam injectors, making a continuous circulation from cell to cell—all under the control of the operator. In the bottom of each cell is an ingenious trap-door for discharging the pulp into a press from which it goes to another belt conveyor, which finally delivers it into cars or farm wagons. Thence it goes to the stables for feed. The resulting juice is quite black, and in it floats considerable organic matter. These juices are pumped into the carbonatation tanks for clarification.

At the kiln coke is used with lime rock, and the carbonic acid gas thus generated is conveyed in green pipes to the carbonatation tanks also. The quicklime itself is ground into a flour from which the milk of lime is made. The gas and the milk of lime are supplemental agents which, by affinity, filtering, etc., separate all impurity. The juice, now of a clear amber color, goes through the sulphuring process, while the lime is sewered away and may be used as a fertilizer. The fumes

of the sulphur stove change the color of the juice to a pure water color. This juice is filtered again, then pumped to the condensing apparatus. It is first condensed in four large oval, perpendicular vacuum pans called "quadruple effects." Finally, it is pumped into a fifth vacuum pan, where it is concentrated till the resulting syrup shows the grain of sugar. The mass, now called "masse cuite," goes to the centrifugals and the remaining syrup expelled. The sugar is next dried in a granulator, after which it falls down a spout into a bag, which is automatically weighed and marked as a commercial package. The whole process requires twelve hours.

In the process outlined above what is called wash syrup and blank melada are thrown off. The products until recently were regarded as waste, but by the osmose, strontium, Steffen's and other technical processes much sugar is now recovered. The net loss depends much upon the purity of the roots. Beets which assay fourteen per cent. sweetness and seventy-eight per cent. purity should yield eleven per cent. net in sugar. At Ames the Steffen's separation process is used. Besides all this machinery there are pumps, stills, water-pipes, flumes, coils, injectors, a tail-race, etc. There is also a laboratory from which every step is controlled and a record made of chemical actions. Water at the Ames factory is obtained from wells, and in the power plant are installed twelve boilers of 3,000 horse-power. The engines are 1,600 horse-power. About these works the company has built long rows of cottages for the use of their workmen. All the machinery, except the centrifugals, are German inventions, but they were made in this country. Indeed it is generally conceded that American-built sugar machinery gives the best satisfaction. It has all been brought to a high state of perfection. Perhaps the greatest need is for a process

of continuous diffusion and carbonatation. In Europe considerable quantities of alcohol and some vinegar have been made as by-products at beet-sugar factories, but so far little of either has been produced in the United States.

As we examine the aspect of this question, presented from the standpoint of general economics, the following facts come rapidly into view: The world consumes 8,600,000 tons of sugar a year; of this 5,600,000 tons are made from beet-roots and the balance from cane and maple trees. Of this world-production, 2,219,000 tons is consumed in the United States. It is estimated that we shall manufacture this year 274,000 tons of cane sugar and 196,000 tons of beet sugar. The balance is imported, as already stated, at a cost of a hundred million dollars per annum. If this sugar were manufactured at home it would employ 100,000 factory hands and a still larger number of farm hands. It would intensify our agriculture and improve our cultural methods. It would help the tenant farmer and offer an opportunity to the man with small means. It would increase railroad traffic. It would employ domestic capital and retain the \$100,000,000 at home which now goes to foreign merchants. It would stimulate inventions, encourage the education of sugar engineers and enlarge the fabrication of machinery. Surely that community is the most powerful which can do the most for itself. Surely civilized communities must act through organization. Institutions must be their organs. The higher the civilization the more complex become these institutions, because the more diversified become the needs of the people. The American Indian has few desires, therefore a few institutions will satisfy him. Now, the way to get institutions is to recognize their value, then promote them. The beet-sugar is an institution which benefits the four great elements in

political economy: land, labor, capital and transportation, and through them distribution. It stands upon all fours—"every foot upon the ground." It is the finest type of an "infant industry" developed in this country since the civil war. Shall this "infant industry" be sacrificed by annexing the island of Cuba or admitting Cuban sugar duty free? Here is an industry in which the raw material and the finished product are furnished by the same community. Shall it be blotted out to satisfy the avarice and the arrogance of refining companies?

As I write, it is announced that the price of cane sugar is reduced, in territory where beets flourish, one cent and a half per pound, this cut to be maintained only while beet-sugar factories are marketing their product. It is announced that sea-shore importers of Cuban raw sugar can pay the present duty and lay the product down in New York city at three and three-quarter cents a pound. I opine that if the present duty is maintained beet sugar will be sold within the next twenty years in that great market at even a lower figure. Secretary Wilson recently said: "We have no more need to import sugar than we have to import wheat," and he was right.

LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR CONTRACTS

D. L. CEASE

The ability of labor organizations to observe the terms of a contract made with their employers has become very much of a public question within the past few months. Employers, too, are inquiring of labor committees, seeking contracts for their organizations, whether they are able to assume the responsibilities of an agreement and if the men whom they represent will abide by the conditions that are accepted by the committee. Unless the organization in question is pretty well balanced and its membership understands the obligations assumed by the making of an agreement, there is every danger that such assurance cannot be given truthfully; for, regardless of the honesty of the committee and their belief in the fairness of their constituents, sympathy at any time may cause the abrogation of the contract by the organization. The idea of the sympathetic strike has been so deeply instilled into the minds of the majority of trade unionists that with many of them the question of its supposed necessity takes precedence over the question of fair dealing with the employer.

To change this opinion will be a difficult matter, for workingmen have always been taught that "an injury to one is the concern of all," and this doctrine of standing together has been responsible for the greatest errors that can be charged to the labor movement. It is not surprising that after all the years of following this practice of standing together, right or wrong, it is going to be a trying experience for any number of men, who have not studied the question except from their own point of view, to refrain from lending their

assistance to their co-workers during a strike, because they feel that the life of the organization involved is at stake, and if it is destroyed the turn of all the others will follow as a consequence. That they have been wrong in their interpretation of the question must be admitted.

The late strike of the steel workers brought this question very prominently before the public, and showed the difference of opinion held by workingmen concerning the right to abrogate a contract. Some of the men stood to their agreements in direct violation of trade-union ethics as they had been taught them. In so doing they demonstrated their integrity to their employers in the face of the unmeasured denunciation of their organization, and their position at that time was more trying to them than the average man ever will understand. The sentiment of the press and people had been with the strikers until the president of the amalgamated association demanded that the western men violate their contracts. When his demand became known the public immediately expressed its disapproval of the strike and its methods, and expressed its approval of the fairness of the men who determined to sacrifice, if necessary, the possible success of a strike for business fairness.

It may well be accepted as true that the stand taken by the men in favor of their compact had much to do with the attitude of the trust toward the association when the strike was ended. Instead of crushing it, as had been predicted, the trust expressed a willingness to resume its former business relations with the association.

The miners have undergone practically the same experience and have demonstrated their ability to remain at work in face of the protests of a part of their association which struck, believing that a sympathetic

strike would be inaugurated in its favor. Mr. Mitchell refused to allow his organization to become involved, and as a result it has been raised considerably in the estimation of those who were given to regard the miner as an irresponsible, low-class workman, incapable of being governed by organization.

The month of November saw three railroad strikes inaugurated by the switchmen, none of which was successful because the older organizations of railway employees absolutely refused to sacrifice their agreements and their organization laws to assist the strikers. In each instance, switchmen excepted, the men remained at work in the face of the denunciation of the strikers who engaged in the trouble, evidently believing that under the pressure of being called names the men would strike in their behalf. The unanimous decision of the railway men is evidence that with them the sympathetic strike is over, and it establishes their purpose to abide by whatever contracts their organization representatives make for the train and engine service.

This decision will be as much misunderstood as was the action of the steel workers and the miners, for there are thousands of members of labor organizations who have not learned the difference between the right and wrong features of a labor contract, and who take it for granted that they are the sole judges and that the question of repudiation of contract at will belongs exclusively to them.

The acceptance of this responsibility by the steel workers, the miners and the railway organizations, brings a fair portion of labor organizations a long way out of the world of sentiment into the present day realism of business practice, in which collective bargaining is accepted by both employers and employees as a necessary factor of our industrial system.

Among the more progressive labor organizations,

the railway employes stand at the head, and represent a greater number of employees in whatever contracts they make than do any of the others. Each railway organization making an agreement includes in it every man engaged in that branch of the service, whether he is a member of that organization or not, but a majority of the employees must always be represented by the committee of the employees making the contract.

This places under the protection of what contracts they make all the men in the transportation department, and their contracts cover almost all of the railway mileage of the United States and Canada. The organizations understand and observe the terms of their agreements, and the same can be said of the railroad companies. Thus far there has been nothing to discourage this plan of bargaining for the services of all of the men. They have profited by the adoption of the plan and to-day are receiving better wages, are working shorter hours, and under improved conditions that were never hoped for under the old plan of each man working for himself, and the employers are better satisfied with the idea. It is true that mistakes have been made, but none have been serious, and a general observance of all the terms of the agreement has been the rule. When contracts expired others have been made, generally with some additional advantage to the employees.

The labor contract, made with a substantial organization, insures stability of industrial conditions and promises a peaceable adjustment of all controversies that may arise during the life of the agreement. No stronger evidence can be produced to attest to the efficiency of the plan than the readiness of the railway managers to make agreements with their employees, for they can reasonably feel that they will be carried out. The same hindrances that affect other trades hamper

the making of the railway organization agreements, but the older organizations have been able to control the situation despite the opposition that has demanded the sympathetic strike and repudiation of agreements.

It must not be imagined that all of the troubles that have occurred have been caused by labor organizations, for more than a few of the causes have been contributed by the employer. Workingmen are not so anxious to leave their positions as some would have us believe. When a general strike occurs there is good reason for it, and it can be taken for granted that all of the trouble is not the fault of the men. It is a difficult matter to get any considerable number of men to leave their employment, but when they do it shows that their unanimity of opinion is the result of something stronger than organization persuasion. Men understand too well the hardships that accompany a strike to accept them without good reason.

But we look for better things. The trend of public opinion is along fairer lines than it used to be. The rights of the working classes are demanded by the press; public opinion demands that the worker be treated in accordance with the teachings of humanity and civilization. Something better must come to the people as a whole, and if the managers and the workers will understand that all men must be fair to each other, and will carry out the promises made to each other, the improvement of labor conditions must be the result. Both corporations and labor organizations are before the bar of public opinion and nothing will insure them a fair hearing more quickly than the making and maintaining of labor agreements.

The logic of the trade union has been "one for all and all for one," and it has been responsible for many mistakes. The theory of cooperation has been confined almost exclusively to strikes, and in which direction it

has accomplished the least good. But we are outgrowing some of the notions of our industrial childhood. Regarding the right of every man to earn his living as sacredly as we do our own, we find in the labor agreement, with its provisions covering wages and conditions of employment, with its plans for the arbitration of all disputes and with the manager and the men pretty well acquainted with each other, a promising plan for the future welfare of the employees, and a certain assurance that all labor controversies will be settled without trouble.

But the sentiment is a new one, entirely different from what the majority of the unionists have heretofore accepted as sound doctrine, and its acceptance will be a question of education for both employer and employee. Each will have to sacrifice his prejudices in favor of industrial stability and general fairness. The labor organization will have to understand that repudiation of contract will destroy confidence in its ability to carry out its part of an agreement; the employer must learn that unless he observes his part of the contract public opinion will demand a suitable punishment for his exhibition of moral weakness.

If employers are going to be shortsighted and mistake the willingness of labor to abide by contract for weakness and fear of corporation power, they will make a serious mistake. The disposition is to get along together, and they will if allowed to do so. If managers endeavor to use the loyalty of the men to their undoing, there is nothing promising in the idea for them. Men will be treated as they believe they deserve; managers cannot afford to experiment with their intention to be fair by seeing how far they can try their patience. The labor contract offers a way out of much of the present difficulty; so let it be accepted and observed.

THE CONVENTION AND THE CAUCUS

HENRY W. WILBUR

James Bryce, in "The American Commonwealth," referring to the vast round of caucuses and conventions connected with the party system which prevails in this country, says: "... I know of no author who has set himself to describe impartially the actual daily working of that part of the vast and intricate political machine which lies outside the constitution, nor what is more important still the influences which sway the men by whom this machine has been constructed, and s daily manipulated."

It is not the purpose of this article to supply the suggested missing link in our political literature, but rather to review the manner in which our party methods and machinery have been evolved, as a basis for an agitation in behalf of their improvement.

A certain amount of legal looseness seems to characterize the caucus and convention system in American politics. Delegates of a great political party, representing every state in the union, the territories and the islands of the sea meet to engage in the serious and important business of nominating a candidate for president of the United States. This convention of delegates is only second in importance to the election itself. Yet the laws of the land put no restrictions on this convention, neither are any safeguards provided against the arts of the demagogue or the artifices of the corruptionist. The former may stampede the convention with an epigram, or the latter by fraud or force manipulate the delegates in the interest of his candidate. All this may be done, and the only check against it is the honor that prevails in the party, and practically the only pun-

ishment in sight is the innate, unlegislated decency of the populace, which might repudiate at the ballot box the candidate thus nominated in the convention.

We did not get our political machinery all at once, but by a process of development. The country had been electing presidents for nearly half a century before anything like a national convention was held to place a candidate in nomination, and then the gathering was little more than a prophecy of the present-day presidential convention.

The nomination of Washington was by common consent, and unanimous, while the elder Adams was made the national executive not unanimously by any means. He was considered Washington's political residuary legatee, which helped him to win the prize. At this point the congressional caucus took its place in our system. The caucus was at first held in secret; the party manipulators met behind closed doors, and amid great secrecy selected the candidate or candidates for the presidency. But the mystery which clustered around nominations thus made was very strongly objected to, and the caucus was vigorously condemned as a mere cabal. Public sentiment forced a change, but did not demand an abolition of the plan. The element of secrecy was removed, and in 1804 the caucus system became the recognized way of nominating a president, and remained so until the clash of factions which in the thirties created a new political alignment.

Out of the congressional caucus grew an elaborate system of legislative caucuses in the states. They nominated governors and state officers, as the central body in Washington monopolized the function of selecting the man to head the national ticket. It will thus be seen that in the earlier days of the republic, before the party boss delegated to himself the task of making and unmaking public officials, the office holders

were the real political manipulators. They decided whether they should go on the ticket to succeed themselves, or in case they were disposed to abdicate, who should be named by the party as their successors.

This system absolutely excluded the people from participation in primary politics. The caucus machine was easily made an agency to work the works of factional prejudice and political tyranny. Like the secret cabal, it had to go when the people had learned wisdom by the things they suffered. The rule of the congressional caucus practically ended in 1820, although, in the queer quadrangular contest between Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and William H. Crawford in 1824, the last named gentleman was nominated by the caucus. The election snuffed out the ambition of Mr. Crawford, and saw the finish of the caucus system.

General Jackson was first nominated at a mass meeting in Blount county, Tenn., in 1823, and similar meetings throughout the country endorsed the nomination. For several years any plan which would focus attention upon some particular candidate and keep it there seems to have determined who should be generally voted for by the electors.

On May 26, 1835, what was probably the first national nominating convention in the history of the country met in Baltimore. It was attended by 600 men, a majority of whom were residents of Maryland. The convention was called by General Jackson. It was called a year ahead of the presidential campaign in order that time might be taken by the forelock, in behalf of General Jackson's political protege, Martin Van Buren.

This convention, and several which came after it, were mass gatherings, and not representative bodies. The political historian did not keep tab on the time

when the delegate system was adopted, and the national convention was built upon state and county conventions and town caucuses, each lower body sending delegates duly credited to the one next higher. A chain was thus established reaching from the caucus or primary in the precinct to the convention to nominate a president.

It is known that the local caucus as a primary agency in politics in our country existed in the colonial period. The father of the immortal Samuel Adams, who was a Boston ship-builder, is traditionally, if not historically, charged with being the father of the American caucus. He had a habit of meeting his ship calkers in secret conclave to discuss the affairs of the town. In the provincial vernacular this gathering was called "the caucus," or meeting of calkers, and caucus it has remained.

Whatever the origin of the caucus, or by whom originated, the system has developed away from the people. The congressional and legislative caucuses of the fathers registered the will of the office holders who composed them. To-day the primary meeting makes effective the desire of the boss and the work of the wire-puller. The individual citizen now has little power of initiative and still less of directing force in the primary meeting of the political party of which he is a member. If pliant and pliable he hangs as one more appendage to the prize belt of the boss; or he is hung as a trophy on the boss's strong tower if he is independent and refuses to pass under the rod of the political manipulator. Nevertheless the caucus system has come to stay. It should not be abolished, but reformed and adapted to righteous ends.

The primary is an essential feature of the party system, and parties under our form of government seem to be necessary. In all probability we shall have

parties until we get Utopia, and before that time untold generations will have run their race and passed away. Whether parties remain divided as now is immaterial to the question. New issues may call into being new parties, or old ones may change their color so as to be unrecognizable by themselves in the looking glass of history. Still two contending parties will continue to divide the bulk of voters, and strive for victory in the political arena. That being the case, as nearly as finite human wisdom can see it, the primary is a foregone conclusion. The question is how to so fix the system that the people can use it to promote political efficiency, rather than permit the ward heelers and the bosses to misuse it for their own profit.

The importance of the caucus in our political system cannot well be exaggerated. In many localities the caucus or primary sustains quite as important relation to government as the election itself. It happens that in many congressional and assembly districts, not to mention smaller political sub-divisions of the commonwealth, a nomination by the dominant party is equivalent to an election. In such cases the real contest takes place in the caucus which elects delegates to the nominating conventions. Two factions in the dominant party in such places contend for the mastery in the convention, the convention contest often being more bitter than the fight at the polls between the majority and the minority parties.

The corrupting influences of every sort are in such cases employed at the primaries. Under present conditions the faction with the largest purse and most corrupt practice is likely to win. The representative of this faction gets the nomination, and the election, a mere ratification of the action of the convention, sends this man to his appointed place, wherever it may be. This is the way the wheels within wheels work, which

place unfit and inefficient men in office to the peril of good government, and the discouragement of good citizens in any effort to reform conditions and inaugurate a better political era.

The congressional caucus was abandoned because it cut off the people from participation in the initial steps in politics. It was a wise step from the secret and semi-secret congressional caucus to the open convention in which a larger number of citizens took part, and whose doings and findings could be known of all men. It was also an advance movement when the caucus system was transferred from an official clique in Washington to localities and neighborhoods in the states. But the system, however more closely related to the people, has been so misused as to embarrass and often thwart the best impulses of the citizens in all parties. The next step in political evolution should be such a reformation of the caucus system as will give the people unhampered power in the primaries, and absolute certainty that their desires will have full value in determining the result.

As matters go now many primaries are farces. Citizens generally do not attend them; the boss and his henchmen flock together, make slates and ratify them; a handful of the worst men in the party practically controlling the machinery, and making nominations for all offices from the bottom up.

The rank and file of orderly, resourceful and patriotic men stay away from the primary for what they believe are good reasons. They feel that to attend would be a waste of time. They would not join in an effort to beat the boss and the boodler at their own game; and it is felt that to do less, under existing circumstances, would simply be to make certain defeat and to deepen disgust. This feeling has descended from father to son in the families where any regard for politi-

cal righteousness prevails, and has developed into the indifference which shirks political and civic duty, under the notion that there is no use to fight against heavy odds. To call capable, conscientious business and professional men to that service of the state, involving a vital interest in the caucuses and primaries, is the first step in the struggle for cleaner politics and purer legislation.

If the better class of citizens are to become politically interested and active, it must be made worth their while. That means that they can act honorably as citizens in the primary, and that they can make nominations and direct policies, having their acts counted at their full value, and not discounted by political jugglers.

The state of New York has a primary election law, but it only applies to cities, and simply aims at preventing the men of one party from packing the primaries of the opposite party and voting in them. Other states have made half-hearted attempts to regulate the caucus, but nowhere is the primary properly dignified or adequately protected from the depredations of the corruptionists and the bosses who belong to the party.

A statute which assumes that it is only in cities that primary elections and caucuses need the protection of the law is framed either in ignorance of the facts, or with a dishonest purpose to do nothing vital to improve the situation. The fact is that the wars of the bosses in the suburban centers of nearly every state show the need of care in country as well as city if we would purify our politics and protect our liberties. He who has seen the wicked manipulation of the town caucus for the nomination of pathmasters and supervisors does not need to be told that intimidators and corruptionists ply their arts in the caucuses and conventions in the country as well as the city neighborhoods.

The purpose of this article is not so much to prescribe a remedy as to diagnose the disease. In politics as in medicine we must know the nature of the case and understand the recuperative power of the patient before applying medication to remove the difficulty.

The caucus must be so regulated by law as to provide for freedom and independence in nominations, and protect the voter by assuring the secrecy of his ballot.

Our elections have been dignified and protected by important safeguards, among them the secrecy of the ballot and the decency of the polling place. There seems to be no reason why the first step in our political system should not be guarded as jealously as the last step, and the primary be made as orderly and free from interference as the election. The plan suggested by Professor Guntou* is specific and meritorious, and could well be made the rallying point for the friends of political reform. Just now the supreme need is to arouse good citizens to the importance of protecting and purifying the primary, and inspire them with confidence that the system is worth saving and can be saved.

Men will respect the caucus when it is really respectable. When the proper safeguards have been employed to secure this respectability, may we not hope to see good citizens increasingly take part in the primary gatherings of that kind of politics which is the science of government? By their united efforts thus employed, the gutter-snipe sort of politicians may be retired to their own place, a higher type of men be called to the public service, and the perpetuation of "government of the people, by the people and for the people" be more certainly ensured.

* See Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics for March 15th, 1900.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN HIS MESSAGE to congress President Roosevelt took a well-considered position on the question of immigration. There never was a time more opportune for passing a wholesome effective law properly restricting immigration than now. It is to be hoped that congress will not lag behind the president's lead. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts has introduced a bill which simply provides an educational test; that is, the immigrant must be able to read in some language. This is simply trifling with the subject. Won't somebody introduce a bill in congress on the lines and covering the points suggested in the president's message?

OUR CRITICISM of the Rev. Mr. McIlwaine for speaking of the president as "Roosevelt or any other kind of velt" has apparently upset the nervous system of the Richmond (Va.) *Leader*. In its excitement the *Leader* exclaims: "We cannot trust ourselves to reply to this infamous attack upon a noble citizen of Virginia, than whom none stands higher." Then so much the worse for Virginia. The proper thing for the Richmond *Leader* to do is to cool down and then demand that the Rev. Dr. McIlwaine apologize for his undignified and insulting conduct to the president. Until he does that he will not be the equal of Booker T. Washington. This is not a race question nor a sectional question. It is merely a question of good manners. We are sorry for the Richmond *Leader*, but Virginia should really adopt a new standard for manhood and manners.

EVEN AUSTRALIA feels compelled to exclude Chinese immigration. This opposition to the Asiatic is not due

to race prejudice, nor to religion, nor to nationality. It arises wherever the Chinese come under western civilization. It is due to the fact that they are a menace to the industrial condition of white laborers. They are economic camp followers. They have no initiative disposition or capacity. They are not pioneers. They will not go and explore and do things for themselves which require encountering nature, but they cluster round close upon the heels of white laborers. They follow them into the cities and wherever industry is established. They thus become cheap competitors for existing jobs rather than creators of jobs for themselves. They neither initiate industrially nor assimilate socially and economically, and hence for the most part they become an industrial menace to be avoided.

THE JACKSONVILLE (Fla.) *Times-Citizen* always has a neat way of getting in its point. In commenting upon the remarks of this magazine in favor of developing home industry in preference to trying to get foreign trade "through favor and privilege," our Florida contemporary says:

"If internal development be our first object, should we neglect our harbors, refuse to irrigate our arid land and drain our swamps, while devoting ourselves to the assimilation and education of the unfit?"

The point is well taken. The irrigation of our arid land and the draining of our swamps and the improvement of our harbors would be worth more to the development of the United States, and to the promotion of real progress, than a hundred times as much expended in trying to assimilate Filipinos, Porto Ricans and Hawaiians into our political system. It is with some satisfaction, however, that we call the attention of the Jacksonville *Times-Citizen* to the fact that President Roosevelt in his message took a definite and pronounced position on this subject.

THE RETURN of Lord Rosebery to the field of active politics is creating quite a commotion in the ranks of English liberals. The peculiarity of Lord Rosebery's position is that he is more imperial than the imperialists, but he stands for a more modern industrial policy. The liberals have become politically effeminate. In opposing the war in South Africa they failed to enlist the support of the people, and under their crystallized, dogmatic free trade policy England is losing its industrial supremacy. The nation is really disgusted with the tories, and has no heart for the Campbell-Bannerman type of listless statesmanship. There is really little hope for an early resurrection of the liberal party, unless it shall take on a constructive industrial policy, which shall aim to do something for English industry better than preaching free trade and unlimited competition. So long as the liberals make that dogma the alpha and omega of their economic policy, the tories will keep in power, notwithstanding their colossal dullness.

THE RETIREMENT of Lyman J. Gage from the cabinet is the fitting sequel to the removal of Wilbur F. Wakeman from the office of appraiser at the port of New York. Mr. Wakeman has been preeminently an honest, efficient and loyal official. He leaves the department without the slightest smirch. He has been sacrificed by a conspiracy of corrupt officialism which has grown up under Mr. Gage's administration. If Mr. Gage was not a conscious part of it, he was the weak victim of it, and is manifestly unfit for the position. Since the president has been compelled by this disgraceful combination of circumstances to sacrifice one of the best officers of the service, the friends of the president and of honest administration have a right to hope that in selecting Mr. Gage's successor a man will

be found who will send a cleansing current down the entire crooked spine of the customs service in New York; a man under whom a Platt-Quigg-Bidwell-SpaULDing combination will be impossible; a man who will begin reform at the top by giving Colonel Spaulding his walking orders.

MR. BRYAN appears to have read the president's message with some disappointment. It did not furnish an opportunity for a philippic. He admits that the president's "endorsement of the Monroe doctrine is emphatic and comprehensive," and that "his remarks on the labor question indicate that he has a clearer conception of the laborer's struggles and difficulties than some previous presidents," and that "there is virtue in the president's advocacy of the eight-hour law and of the regulations to prevent overwork and unsanitary conditions." But the president's statement that: "The average man, the wage-earner, the farmer, the small trader, have never before been so well off as in this country and at this time," is not to Mr. Bryan's liking. He thinks it is "the phraseology of trust defenders." What a pity he could not call it something really bad! Then the president's warning against "crude and ill-considered legislation" impresses Mr. Bryan unfavorably. A president who fears "crude, ill-considered legislation" is not "in a proper frame of mind to calmly consider an effective anti-trust law." Of course Mr. Bryan has no such fear. The country does not know what it missed, but it can probably stand this another term!

IN HIS SPEECH at the recent bankers' banquet, ex-Speaker Reed said: "There are two defects in our financial system: one is the sub-treasury system and the other is the issuance of currency." Mr. Reed here

hit the nail squarely on the head. There are a great many unscientific features in our financial system, but these are the two vital defects. If these were remedied, the elements of greatest danger would be removed. The sub-treasury system is a constant menace to the country. In times of prosperity, the sub-treasury is a steady instrument for contracting the currency just in proportion as the government is rich, by locking up the money in that "miser's iron box," as Mr. Lincoln called it, and contracting the circulation. The last industrial depression was produced largely by the stimulus the anti-tariff agitation received from this fact. When, through the prosperity of '91 and '92, the surplus in the treasury increased, the free-trade journals began to demand a reduction of the tariff in order to reduce the revenues, on the plea that the surplus was contracting the volume of circulation and injuring business. It is highly important that something be done to relieve the country of this crude piece of fiscal bungling while we are free from industrial uncertainty.

THE DISCUSSION of liberal excise policy by the incoming administration in New York city has developed an unexpected feature. It has always been assumed that the saloon keepers were anxious for Sunday opening and were compelled to pay tribute for the privilege. Now that the new policy of legalizing the opening of saloons a part of Sunday is being seriously proposed, saloon keepers are announcing that they prefer Sunday closing, that like everybody else they want one day off in seven. This is a most natural as well as wholesome feeling. If the saloon keepers will follow the example of the butchers and other tradesmen, and make it definitely known that they prefer to limit their business to six days in the week, and let those who want

Sunday drinking go to the hotels, it will do much to clear the air of the morbid misunderstanding on the question. Public sentiment is disposed to give the people considerable liberty in the excise matter, but there ought to be some way of ascertaining what is really wanted. If the public desire on the matter can be ascertained the Low administration is ready to adjust its policy accordingly. There never was an administration freer from the desire to impose puritanical restrictions, but it does not want to force Sunday opening on the community against the public desire.

A GOOD DEAL of censure is being dealt out from time to time on the British for their position in the Boer war. Americans, especially those who favor our foreign policy, may well hesitate before passing judgment on England. The worst that can be said of England in Africa can be repeated with emphasis of us in the Philippines. We went without excuse or provocation; the Filipinos made no war on us; we had no moral or economic claim upon them. With the English in Africa, the circumstances are reversed. The Boers made war on the English, and invaded British territory. For a time they got the best of the war and created havoc with the English army. People who are attacked and whose country is invaded do not usually surrender when they are winning. The Boers have shown no disposition to cease fighting. Though they are beaten, they have refused the most liberal propositions for peace. They reject everything except the unconditional departure of the British, which is childish absurdity. That is not patriotism; nor is it the kind of bravery civilization respects. The irrational pugnacity of General Botha and Oom Paul, in creating hardship for all and disease and death for many of their own people, should be regarded as a crime rather than a virtue.

The Boer war has passed the point of honorable belligerency. It now partakes more of the character of banditti marauding than of patriotic struggle for either race or nation.

WE BUY NEARLY 2,000,000 tons of sugar a year, for which we pay foreigners more than one hundred million dollars. To supply our own demand with this staple product, which goes into the home of every citizen and on the table at every meal, besides being an important diversification of agriculture, would introduce the conditions of more scientific methods of production. The raising of sugar beets and converting them into sugar requires a strictly economic method. Moreover, it would be a new and fertile field for the employment of domestic capital and labor, and would be a new contribution to the wealth-producing forces of the nation. Why should not the domestic sugar industry be developed?

There are few subjects upon which the American people are so ill-informed as upon the beet-sugar industry. It has been a habit of all who have opposed the protective policy to deny that we can successfully establish this industry on a profitable basis, just as it was said about the manufacture of tin plate, and at an earlier period of steel rails, and in fact of every other domestic industry that has been developed by the aid of protective policy. As this subject has already come before the new congress, we publish in this number the result of an extensive investigation into the history and processes and methods of the beet sugar industry, both in Europe and this country, and ask that the facts therein presented receive careful consideration by all who are interested in a proper economic and judicious treatment of the subject.

WHEN CONGRESS reconvenes after the holidays, one of the questions that will press for early consideration is the demand of Cuba for tariff concessions. In this country there is a genuine sympathetic interest in Cuba's success, but there is a limit to what we can properly be expected to do. In response to Cuba's appeal we sent our army and navy to rescue the island from Spanish rule. We paid the bill in both treasure and lives. We have since spent millions to establish peace and start the machinery of civil government with political independence. Are we expected now to guarantee the prosperity of Cuban planters by contributions from our treasury and the injury of an important American industry. This is too much for Cuba to ask. Yet, in asking for free sugar, it is asking for nothing less than this. Such a demand is unreasonable, unnecessary and smacks of professional mendicancy. Free sugar would be equal to making the Cuban sugar planters (a handful of Spaniards, not the people of Cuba) a present of about \$18,000,000 on this year's crop. To pretend that this is necessary to the maintenance of Cuban industry is dishonest. The Cuban delegation have publicly stated that a quarter of this amount would be sufficient, and that half would give them liberal profits. But because they observe a liberal spirit in this country towards Cuba they have increased their plaint, and instead of a remission of a third or half the tariff, they now are asking for the whole of it. They know, and that is their hope, that with free sugar in five years they could supply the whole American market and drive our beet-sugar industry into bankruptcy. Such a proposition should not be considered for a moment. If the Cubans insist upon free sugar, and try to obtain it by carrying Spanish cunning into the lobby of congress, they should be refused any concession at all.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The Lecture on Reciprocity

My dear Mr. Gunton:

I have seen nothing of late so good as your lecture on "Our Industrial Foreign Policy" in the *Lecture Bulletin* of December 2nd. I have read it with great interest and shall not hesitate to make use of it in the debates which are likely to arise upon protection and reciprocity. It is not to our credit that in times of such unparalleled prosperity there should be so many men in favor of some kind of change.

Very truly yours,

EUGENE HALE,

Senate Chamber,
Washington, D. C.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your recent review of the steel strike is a very able effort and has been much appreciated by my associates on the committee. I trust that we have merited the tribute which you have paid to us.

Yours truly,

HENRY WHITE,

Sec'y United Garment Workers of
America, New York City.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your *Bulletin* continues to sow the seed of good government. The chairman of the republican city committee of Detroit has recently come out against the present caucus and convention system of nominations. When the people or a respectable number of them ask for the abolition of the caucus and convention, you will see the politicians line up.

Congratulating you upon the success of the *Bulletin*,
I am, Yours truly,

D. E. McCLURE,

Chief Clerk, Dept. of State,
Lansing, Mich.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The magazine is undoubtedly the most advanced journal we have, on a subject that needs all the light it can possibly get. I am deeply interested in the labor problem and in corporation management, and have been helped in a good many ways by your discussions.

W. H. JOHNSTON,

St. Louis, Mo.

QUESTION BOX

Mr. Borden's Wage Policies

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What do you think of Mr. M. C. D. Borden's latest action in reducing wages 10 per cent. in his Fall River mill? This takes off the two recent 5 per cent. increases, and makes his whole transaction look more like mere clever moves in a game to down his competitors than a desire to improve the condition of his working people.

M. S.

Our correspondent is mistaken in saying Mr. Borden has taken off the two recent 5 per cent. increases. He has only taken off one, and the reason he gives for this is that he had hoped the other corporations would follow suit; but he and the Bourne mills are still paying five per cent. more than the others. Still, if the rise was genuine and warranted by the price of print cloths, there seems to be no reason now for taking even half of it off. At the time the raise was given print cloths were 3 cents a yard, having recently risen from $2\frac{1}{2}$, which seemed to justify the increase, and they are still 3 cents. Yet if it be true, as Mr. Borden has intimated, that in giving the second 5 per cent. he had hoped to raise the general standard of wages, in which case it would not have been necessary to take it off again, Mr. Borden was right. The wages in the cotton industry in New England are too low.

New England manufacturers are doomed to get the worst of it unless they adopt a new policy. Thirty years ago they were the real leaders in the cotton industry; Fall River was conspicuously to the front. Their leadership consisted in adopting every new device that was invented, and so they were able to pay better wages than manufacturers in competing states. They

had the ten-hour law a long time before any other New England state, and they more than overcame that by their promptness in adopting the new methods. They seem now to have become fossilized fogies. There are new machines, conspicuously new looms, which are as superior to those the Fall River corporations are using as the Cartwright power loom was to the hand looms, and yet only one or two corporations in Fall River have adopted these new looms. Their southern competitors are using them with the result of about three times as much profit as the New England manufacturers can make, and instead of adopting these new and improved machines they are haggling away at the wages of the operatives.

This policy can lead only to defeat. In the southern mills a weaver can mind from 20 to 24 looms; in Fall River the best weaver can only mind 8. The result is that the southern manufacturer can get print cloths woven for less than 7 cents a cut, while Fall River has to give 19. On the new looms the operatives could earn considerably higher wages than they now get, at 10 or 12 cents a cut, for which the manufacturers now have to pay 19. But, rather than adopt the progressive, enterprising, truly American policy of putting in new machines, they try to make up for this disadvantage in competition by cutting the wages of labor. This policy cannot and ought not to succeed. The laborers have no right to be asked to accept low wages in order that corporations may use old effete machinery. This slowness of adopting new methods is what has caused England to lose her supremacy in foreign trade, and it will do the same with New England cotton manufacturers. If the New England cotton manufacturers hope to keep in the race, they must adopt the best machinery available. If not, there is no economic reason why they should stay in the business.

Effects of Cuban Free Sugar

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What reason is there to hope that sugar would be any cheaper if the tariff were reduced or abolished on the Cuban product? Cuba produces about 400,000 tons of raw sugar, while our annual consumption of refined sugar is about 2,000,000,000 tons. If we received the entire Cuban product, it would be less than 25% of all we use.

E. P. S.

There is no reason to hope that putting Cuban sugar on the free list would affect the price of sugar to American consumers by one iota. It would simply increase the profits of Cuban sugar planters by more than a cent a pound. Their product this year is estimated to be about 800,000 tons. To put their sugar on the free list would be equivalent, therefore, to making Cuban sugar planters a present of nearly eighteen million dollars. If this were done, it would stimulate the extension of cane-sugar planting in Cuba to the maximum, which in a few years would easily supply the entire demand for sugar in the United States, and thus stamp out the beet sugar industry in this country, which has now become a successful and increasing enterprise. Moreover, it is one of the diversifications of agriculture that should be encouraged. It can hardly be regarded as either good politics, good protection or good patriotism to pursue a policy which will probably take eighteen millions out of the American treasury and at the same time destroy the American industry and yield no reduction in the price of the product. If Cuba is to receive economic assistance by means of tariff concessions, they should be made consistently with the principle laid down by the president, namely, that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the

labor cost here and abroad. If this principle is to be ignored, we might as well put sugar on the free list and have done with it.

Will the President or the Bosses Win?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—President Roosevelt's independence is undoubtedly making him popular for the time being, but do you really believe that it will carry him through as against the bosses? Mr. McKinley's extraordinary personal success was due to his conciliatory tact, but President Roosevelt is giving little consideration either to organizations or individuals, unless his own judgment approves. He will get the organized political forces against him, and Grover Cleveland is about the only man who ever succeeded against a combination like that. Can Roosevelt do it? G. M. S.

President Roosevelt may encounter the antagonism of party bosses, but he has done nothing thus far to indicate that he is seeking any such fight. If it really comes to a question between an honest, high-minded president who is willing to recognize party organization, but insists on a high standard of fitness and character in public officials, and the interests of the personal boss-control, sometimes sheltered behind the term "senatorial courtesy," the people will be with the president, and he will win out. The public is becoming very tired of this mere personal control of government through political bosses, like Platt and Quay. The people believe in political parties, however, and if the president should ignore or open war upon organization as such, and make a kind of mugwump administration on the theory that he is better than his party, or for that matter than any party, he would soon come upon the breakers. The people believe in party organization, but they will also sustain any president who shall insist on keeping it clean and honorable.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CONTROL OF TRUSTS. By John Bates Clark. Cloth, 88 pages, 60 cents. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The "trust" question has passed rapidly through several stages of evolution. The first attempt seriously to discuss the question with any precision was made in 1888.* The writer then took the position that trusts were simply a new form of industrial organization, the necessity for which had grown out of the economic progress of the second half of the nineteenth century; that they involved no revolution in economic principles but only a more comprehensive and efficient organization of economic forces; that their justification lay in their superior productive efficiency. The mere fact that they introduced some economic disturbance was no proof of their uneconomic character or of inimical influence upon social and political institutions. Whatever would do the world's work better and cheaper finds ultimate justification in the highest principles of ethics and economics. But this must be done without impairing the freedom of economic competition.

The writer also took the position that any arbitrary interference with the so-called "trust" movement, restricting corporations because of their size, would necessarily tend to arrest industrial progress and inflict real injury upon society. It was held that the economic efficiency of "potential competition" was often equal to that of actual competition. That is to say, the possibility of new capital entering the field to compete with existing concerns is often as effective as if it were actually there, and sometimes even more so, because

* "Economic and Social Aspects of Trusts." By George Gunton. *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1888.

the imagination often endows the threatened competitor with greater capacity than he might actually have.

"Trusts" were thus treated as a natural phase of progress which had the possibility of great benefits to the community, and it was held that the only really statesmanlike treatment of the question, so far as government action is concerned, was to secure the constant operation of potential competition by preventing the establishment of arbitrary monopoly. This could be accomplished by keeping the opportunities for the entrance of new capital into the field constantly open, so that either actual or potential competition should ever be present.

Since then the trust question has assumed various economic and political forms and has been made a political issue in two presidential campaigns. But, in the meantime, none of the new evils predicted have occurred and most of the old ones have diminished. Prosperity in all lines of industry has increased concurrently with corporation development, wages have risen and prices fallen; much of the panicky element of the "trust" scare has disappeared, and the question is rapidly passing from the domain of the political demagogue to that of the philosophic economist and rational statesman, and both these appeared almost simultaneously.

The economic discussion is presented in this little book by Professor Clark, and the point of view of practical policy is presented by President Roosevelt in his message, and they both rest substantially on the principles laid down in the article referred to, published in 1888 in the *Political Science Quarterly*. In his very convincing and logical method of treating all subjects, Professor Clark devotes the greater portion of his book to the elimination of inefficient and uneconomic methods of controlling trusts. In view of the fact that Professor

Clark is opposed to all protective duties, his discussion is especially interesting. He says (page 38) :

"Duties do something for the trust that exists within an industry; but they also do something for the independent producers, who, with the trust, constitute the industrial group as a whole. They likewise affect the potential producer, or the man who is not now in the field, but will be there if certain inducements are offered. The solution of the tariff problem is bound up with the true solution of the problem of dealing with monopolistic corporations."

Besides showing that the evils of the trust cannot be remedied by dealing with the tariff, he points out that certain serious disadvantages might come of patchwork tariff legislation directed against protected industries (page 41):

"If this demand were complied with, we should find ourselves without protection for a great variety of manufactured articles, but with protection for raw materials. The change would be a kind of tariff reform that would be most likely to injure, not merely the trusts, as menacing powers within their several industries, but the industries themselves. . . .

"Carry this struggle through to success. Abolish all duties on trust-made articles and see where that will leave the country. In a few cases you will produce no evil effects. Some branches of manufacturing have undoubtedly reached a stage in which it costs less to make goods in this country than in Europe; and in these industries, with no protection, the American makers can hold their markets against foreigners, while still getting fair returns. . . .

(Page 43) "It would, however, be entirely reasonable to reduce each duty to an amount that equals the difference in cost between the American and the foreign article. Find out accurately how much the owner of an American mill has to spend in the creating of a particular product, ascertain with the same accuracy how much the European spends for the same purpose, and make the duty on the completed article equal to the difference between the two sums. The European can then place his goods on the American market at an outlay which, when duties are paid, equals the outlay incurred by his American rival."

This is eminently sound doctrine. It has been advocated in these pages for ten years as the only economic basis upon which a protective tariff can be scientifically defended. Intelligent opinion upon this subject has been gradually growing toward this view,

and it has now found unqualified expression in the president's message as to the proper basis for all tariff and reciprocity policy. It is especially satisfying, therefore, to find that from a purely theoretic study of the subject Professor Clark has arrived at the same conclusion, despite the fact that *a priori* he believes in free trade.

Finally, Professor Clark, with unwavering faith in the efficacy of economic forces, relies wholly on competition, actual and potential, to do all the corrective work that can be done in the control of trusts without destroying the trust contribution to progress. He insists that if new competition is permitted "to spring up in case prices are raised, they will not be raised."

The only control of trusts that the public can supply, he thinks, is by insuring opportunity for this potential competition to become actual whenever conditions justify it. His remedy, then, is simply the application of the common law against monopolies, enforced by statute law if necessary, which he states as follows (page 75):

"If the trust has much to dread from the civil power, in case it ruins competitors unfairly, it will give them a fair field. This is all they need; and, with this assured, they will appear promptly whenever prices are raised to an extortionate level. But such a rise will not take place. The potential competitor will protect the public from extortion, because a potency residing in the law annihilates the trust's power to destroy him. From every point of approach we are led to the conclusion that the law must disarm the trusts—it must take away the weapons which are available only for evil. The railroad problem must first be solved and fair treatment for all shippers must be secured. Then factors' agreements, the local cutting of prices and the predatory breaking of a scale of prices must be forbidden, and there must be a real force behind the prohibition."

This is practically what President Roosevelt has recommended on this subject in his message; the first step towards which is publicity, knowledge of what large corporations are actually doing. Professor Clark's

treatment of the subject and his ultimate remedy will not be very satisfying to the eager mouthers against trusts and corporations. To those who dabble in the subject for the purposes of political sensation it will be a real disappointment, because it successfully disposes of their whole line of attack. But it is a real contribution to the sound sense and economic discussion of the subject, and will tend to strengthen the same growing conviction that large corporations are necessary to modern society, and that there is a way of making political action so cooperate with economic forces as practically to eliminate the evils from them without destroying their usefulness to society.

MARK HANNA: A SKETCH FROM LIFE, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Solon Lauer. Nike Publishing House, Cleveland, Ohio.

This book does not pretend to be a life of the much-talked of man from Ohio. The author simply tells what he thinks of Mr. Hanna, and innumerable other things and theories. He strips off the dollar-decked clothing in which the cartoonists have enveloped his hero; but that was scarcely necessary. People in the main have given the man a fairly correct place in their thought as a forceful, successful man of affairs, not without the milk of human kindness or sympathy with human need. That is about all this book on its right side does for Mr. Hanna.

The author's theorizing, and his admission and excuse of certain mercenary, if not corrupt, acts charged to the senator from Ohio, make the book a dealer in false philosophy and exploiter of exaggerated fact. In regard to the Otis bribery charges, the author considers that it makes very little difference whether Mr. Hanna was guilty or not. Vote buying in general the book takes as a matter of course, not to be condemned be-

cause so universally practiced. The author lays down the proposition that "most of us sell our votes to the highest bidder, or to him whose offer seems to our best advantage," and tries to sustain the assertion by a bit of false and mischievous reasoning. He holds that the men who vote for policies of government, economic or otherwise, because they believe such policies will tend to personal or public prosperity, sell their votes. To class men who thus determine the direction of the suffrage with the ordinary commercial voters is a charge as preposterous as it is infamous.

That there is a wicked use of money in political campaigns is to be admitted and regretted, but it is probable that the actual buying of votes is far less than flippant paragraphers would have us believe. A corrupt commercialism in politics is to be condemned and discouraged by making the practice odious, and punishing those who engage in it, not by condoning it because it is common.

Mr. Hanna ought to hunt a different and better biographer than Mr. Lauer.

LESSONS IN PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. By Charles R. Dryer, M.A., F.G.S.A. Half-leather, 12mo, illustrated, 430 pages. Price, \$1.20. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

As a special text-book for use in connection with political geography, and in schools and grades where the special branches of geology and kindred topics cannot be taught, this volume would serve a practical and instructive purpose. It treats of glaciers, mountains, streams, volcanoes, coast formations, storms, animal geography and other topics. Where pertinent, these topics are treated with special reference to their relation to human life.

CIVICS FOR NEW YORK STATE. By Charles De Forest Hoxie. Cloth, 368 pages. The American Book Company, New York.

This volume is a valuable compilation to put in the hands of young New Yorkers of both sexes. It explains the various parts of the national and state governments and their relation to each other; gives a digest of the laws regarding corporations, coinage, voting, naturalization and other matters; explains terms used in dealing with the government, and by the governments dealing with each other, and is a storehouse of valuable information regarding civic duty.

There is just a tinge of theorizing about policies which have not yet been tried which it would seem might be omitted from a text-book, to the book's advantage.

BALDWIN'S CONQUEST OF THE OLD NORTHWEST. By James Baldwin. Cloth, illustrated, 256 pages. Price, 60 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This is the story of the reclamation from barbarism of that section of our country lying west of the Alleghanies, and bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Great Lakes. In the nature of the case the book deals very largely with the Indian wars and the pioneer experiences of the strenuous people who laid the foundations of the great states of the Northwest. The story will be found useful in public school work, especially in the section of which it treats.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Commercial Trusts. The Growth and Rights of Aggregated Capital. By John R. Dos Passos, of the New York bar, author of "The Interstate Commerce Act," etc. Cloth, 137 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Municipal Administration. By John A. Fairlie, Ph.D. Cloth, 448 pp., \$3.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Anthracite Coal Industry. A Study of the Economic Conditions and Relations of the Cooperative Forces in the Development of the Anthracite Coal Industry of Pennsylvania. By Peter Roberts, Ph.D., with an introduction by W. G. Sumner, LL. D. Cloth, 257 pp., \$3.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Principles of Political Economy. By J. Shield Nicholson, M.A., D. Sc., professor of political economy in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. III., cloth, 460 pp., \$3.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Awakening of the East. By Pierre Leroy Beau-
lieu, with an introduction by Henry Norman. Cloth,
12mo. \$1.50. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

Abraham Lincoln: His Book. A fac-simile reproduction of Lincoln's note-book on "Negro Equality." Leather, 16mo. \$1. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1516. By Woodbury Lowery. Cloth, 8vo. \$3. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Science and Medieval Thought. By Thomas Clifford Allbutt, M.A., Regius professor of physic in the University of Cambridge. Cloth, 12mo, 116 pp. 75 cents. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The War of 1812 Between the United States and Great Britain. By Rossiter Johnson. Cloth, gilt top, 12mo. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

The Evolution of Modern Money. By William War-
rand Carlile. Cloth, 8vo, 373 pp. \$2.50. The Mac-
millan Co., New York.

The New Basis of Geography. A Manual for the Preparation of the Teacher. By Jacques W. Redway, F.R.G.S. Cloth, 12mo, 229 pp. \$1. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The American Engineer in China. By William Bar-
clay Parsons. Cloth, 12mo. \$1.50. McClure, Phil-
lips & Co., New York.

FROM RECENT MAGAZINES

"Should Mr. Roosevelt aspire to become president of the United States, I believe that he will ultimately be successful. First, he has the courage requisite, and, secondly, the character. His varied life as a ranchman, hunter, soldier and politician has placed him in such close proximity with so many different men that they have had ample opportunity to judge of his qualities, and to understand when he says or does a thing. There are many who believe that he is too aggressive, but Mr. Roosevelt makes strength of character an object. To him it is the deed, and not the word. It is the power to act, to do something, as I have said, to produce a result. That result may be right, or it may be wrong; but, notwithstanding, it is the result, and Mr. Roosevelt is satisfied. If it be wrong, he will be one of the first to set it right. One great thing in his favor is his absolute adherence to all that is strictly honest. This belief makes him a man of frank, open expression. He is quick to say a thing, for he knows that what he says is the truth. During his civil service commission days I saw a great deal of him, and it was that phase of his character which impressed me most. . . . I believe that, if he had been given the most conservative work in the country, he would have made it an important affair.

. . . He is studying the political economics of this country with the hope of becoming a master of economic expression. He has cut himself out as a public servant, and, no matter what position he is placed in, he will strive to win public confidence. I do not predict that Mr. Roosevelt will ever be the president of this country, but he is the proper metal that makes a president."—BENJAMIN HARRISON (1898), in "An Estimate of Theodore Roosevelt.—*Success* (November).

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS AND THE PUBLIC TASTE

The popular taste is not so depraved as the majority of theatrical managers would have us believe. The public in general does not demand or even want gross vulgarity on the stage; it is no more true than the cynical slander that New York city prefers political vileness because it often gets the Tammany type of government foisted upon it. The late election laid that to rest. The experience of New York theater managers in flooding the stage last winter with filthy abominations could not have been specially profitable; the experiment is not being repeated this season, at any rate. Most of the plays now being presented are at least clean, and the audiences as large as ever greeted any of the "Saphos" and "Zazas" after the first rush of curiosity was over.

Not only in the regular drama but even in the field of vaudeville this improvement is becoming obvious; for example, the new departure by F. F. Proctor in his series of seven theaters. He has greatly modified the tiresome succession of "continuous" variety features, largely disgusting and chiefly inane, and now gives reproductions of standard comedies, many of which have won prominence in the principal playhouses, while the purely vaudeville features are introduced only as "fillers" between the acts. So far the experiment is a success; showing that the public taste here no less than in the field of regular drama is better than the purely commercial estimate of box-office managers. Nobody expects or asks these managers to lose money in "educating" the public up to a higher standard of quality in public amusements. Of course the people do not want stupidity or prosiness, but they do appreciate and prefer decency and merit, and are willing to support it.





JAMES J. HILL

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

New Era in
New York City
Government

On the first of January, Tammany Hall took its departure from the city government, for the city's good; and now, three weeks later, Croker takes his departure from the country, for the country's good. The permanent absence of both the cabal and its boss from their wonted fields of earnest endeavor is the fervent prayer of politically decent New York. To insure this permanent barring out of Tammany and the whole Tammany type and idea of municipal government, by a clean, successful, and at the same time liberal and popular administration, is the problem and task before Mayor Low and his associates in the new regime.

So far as the personnel of the heads of departments under the new administration is concerned, there is no reason why this success should not be had. They are all men of conspicuous ability and special fitness for the positions held. Nothing could show more clearly the revolutionary change in the whole theory and practice of municipal government than a mere glance over the list of appointments in the principal offices: men, for example, like Col. John N. Partridge as police commissioner, in place of the pliable figurehead Murphy; Col. N. B. Thurston as first deputy commissioner of police, in place of the notorious and offensive Dev-ery; Robert W. De Forest, one of the best qualified

workers in tenement house and charity reforms in the city, as tenement house commissioner; Gustav Lindenthal, an able and experienced bridge and tunnel engineer, as bridge commissioner; George L. Rives as corporation counsel, one of the kind of men whose cooperation in municipal government is always a matter of patriotism rather than profit, because it means voluntary sacrifice of personal interests; Dr. John M. Woodbury as street commissioner, in place of the ward politician Nagle, whose administration of the department was satisfactory to the Tammany treasurer and to nobody else; and so on. There was never a time in the history of the metropolis when the promise of uniformly high-class, honest and efficient administration was so bright and apparently well founded.

**The Wrangle
Over Excise
Problems**

Nevertheless, the old familiar enemy of reform administrations is in evidence already: namely, dissension among the friends of good government. The chief bone of contention is the excise question, and the new administration is becoming the target of bitter and even abusive attacks from a small group of extremists who are disappointed to find that Mayor Low intends to represent, and rule in a spirit of representing, the people of the whole city; those who put him in power and endorsed his platform; and does not consider himself a sort of external authority sent here to carry out the ideas of any particular class or organization. The sore point now is that the police department is not concentrating all its energy and attention on the monumental task of enforcing to the letter an excise law passed at Albany, without reference to public sentiment in New York city, and that never could be or was literally enforced, the nearest approach being the brief period under Commissioner Roosevelt, which had no permanent result

other than a widespread stimulus to the next Tammany victory with its wholesale "open door" consequences.

The new administration is proceeding on the theory that the Sunday closing of every saloon, during every hour of the day, and personal investigation of every side entrance in New York city at sufficiently frequent intervals during the day, is not the only duty the New York police are charged with performing, and that to enter upon any such campaign would practically require the police to abandon for the day all watchfulness and attention to other kinds of law breaking that are equally, if not considerably more, a menace to public safety and morals. It is recognizing the fact that the present excise law is already practically in process of revision, through public discussion and possible legislation, and that radical initiatory police measures may well wait until the public will on the whole question is definitely expressed and determined. As Mayor Low said during the campaign, the extreme of the law may be the extreme of injustice; and it only requires a study of the methods of enforcement of the thousands of laws of all kinds on the statute books of every state to reveal the fact that, in probably a large majority of cases, absolutely literal enforcement is impossible and not even attempted.

This does not mean that there is deliberate, intentional evasion of the laws, or wholesale disrespect and disregard for them, but it does mean that enforcement of law is always and necessarily a matter of interpretation of its meaning and of the intent of the people who caused its enactment, and that legislative wisdom is almost never equal to the task of so framing a law that it will apply with equal feasibility and justice to all the conditions it is intended to cover. There is always a range of possible variation in the intent of a law, and the best that can be done, when it comes to practical

application, is to interpret its provisions as nearly as possible in the light of obvious common sense and prevailing public sentiment. The result of this always necessary interpretation may not always be a variation from the literal wording. In some cases it may call for exact and unvarying enforcement of every provision, and in others it may not and cannot.

In other words, the carrying out of the public will is more than a matter of mere making of laws. It is a problem, also, of the method of interpretation and enforcement, and the people have a double task in order to get the results they desire: one, to choose lawmakers who will enact as nearly as possible the laws that are wanted and revise them as may be desired; the other, to choose public officials whose interpretation and enforcement of these laws will be as nearly as possible according to the actual intent and wish of the people who decreed their enactment. Somebody must determine as to whether a particular measure shall be literally and narrowly construed, or broadly construed and enforced accordingly, because construing of some sort there must be. If the people want the literal interpretation, it is for them to elect officials who will give that interpretation; but if they want the broader interpretation,—as, for instance, that Sunday closing shall mean external decency and quiet at least, without absolutely prohibiting all sales within doors, in every quarter of the city,—then it is likewise in the power of the people to provide for that at the ballot-box, and they generally do it. If they cannot get an obnoxious law repealed, nor even a moderate interpretation and enforcement, they will eventually turn to some sort of Tammanyite administration under which the measure will become an out-and-out dead letter.

There is practically no such thing as an absolutely iron-clad law, and cannot be. Courts are constantly

passing upon the technical meaning and application of hundreds of statutes, and public sentiment is constantly determining the spirit and extent of their enforcement. The remedy for a too lax enforcement is in the hands of the people, and just as surely the penalty for a too rigid and extreme enforcement is in the hands of the people; and many a promising effort in reform government has been wrecked through blindness to this latter fact.

**A Suggestion to
Extremists**

The Low administration does not propose to forfeit its unlimited opportunities of doing good and perpetuating clean government in New York city by attempting an extreme enforcement of the existing "Raines hotel" excise law, in the face of a perfectly apparent public dissatisfaction with it, whatever may be the final decision on the question of Sunday opening or closing *per se*. With the forces and facilities at its command, it is going to do the best it can for public order and decency throughout the city, not concentrating everything on one particular offence to the neglect of others, but meeting all the conditions presented as evenly and vigorously as possible.

Mayor Low has just published a frank and full statement of the position of his administration on this subject, substantially summarized in this one paragraph:

"The attitude of this administration toward the excise law can be clearly defined. It will continue to enforce the excise law as one of the general body of laws which it is called upon to enforce, in the best manner practicable with the means at its disposal. It will take immediate cognizance of any complaint of breach of law that is called to its attention; but it will not concentrate the entire police force on this one law and let all other laws go by the board. It will also do everything it can, while it is in power, to break up the bribery and corruption of which the excise law has been for so long the fruitful parent."

If an extreme excise law is to be literally enforced

it will require almost another police force to do it, and a revolutionary change in public sentiment to support it. The former might be obtained, but the latter will only come with the slow growth of educational and moral forces in the community, and until it comes the efforts to carry out extreme and arbitrary policies will simply entail repeated defeats, restorations of Tammany government, and hence a setback along the whole line of municipal improvement.

Municipal government is a larger and more complex and far-reaching matter by far than the solitary issue of beer drinking, which a good many one-idea people seem to imagine is all that Mr. Low and his associates have to think about, and the only problem they were elected to solve. If the well-meaning enthusiasts who are tirading against the new administration are sincerely interested in the steady, permanent and genuine progress of the city, in morals as well as prosperity and enlightenment, they will learn to be content with a gradual and all-round development towards results that cannot come in a night. They will cultivate a little more of the quality of reasonableness in their attitude towards the new city government, rather than force it to fight its way to success against supposed friends in addition to known enemies, thus inviting a return of Tammany and another era of municipal degradation.

The Great

Northern "Deal"

Opposition to the so-called Great Northern "deal," among the people of the Northwest does not seem to materialize quite so vigorously as at first expected. At the instance of Governor Van Sant of Minnesota, a convention was held at Helena, Montana, on December 31st, attended by the governors and attorneys-general of seven north-western states, and resolutions adopted pledging support to any proper legal proceedings against the

"Northern Securities Company." On January 7th a formal bill of complaint was filed with the supreme court at Washington, against the new corporation, by the attorney-general of Minnesota. In spite of all this agitation, it is impossible to resist the feeling that these proceedings represent a larger measure of economic delusion, coupled with official zeal for political popularity, than they do of actual alarm among the people of the Northwest. The governor of Idaho declined to take part in the conference, and the governor of Oregon, while expressing sympathy with the general object, remarked with refreshing common sense that: "Unless consolidation of railway companies should be followed by increased freight and passenger rates, it would be difficult to see where objection to it would lie. If this result should follow, it is a matter within the power of the state legislatures to control. It may prove an easier matter to regulate rates than to prevent consolidation." The new governor of Iowa, Mr. Cummins, looks upon the matter in very much the same light.

There are still other indications that the supposed universal panic in the Northwest is at least a long way this side of revolution with "blood to the horses' bridles;" for example, the convention of the Tri-State Association of Grain and Cattle Growers, held at Fargo, North Dakota, January 10th, at which resolutions were adopted, practically without dissent, commending the work of Mr. James J. Hill in this fashion:

"It is the sense of this meeting, therefore, that in resisting the attempts of the Union Pacific railroad and its allies on the one hand and the Canadian Pacific railroad and its feeders on the other to secure control of the Northern Pacific railroad, James J. Hill has performed a notable public service, and once more displayed the far-sighted and business like policy that has characterized his long career as the great developer of northwestern resources and the most watchful guardian of northwestern interests."

Mr. Hill addressed this convention along the general lines of his statement issued in New York late in December, tracing the details of the long struggle of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific interests to gain control of the northern roads, and divert to the central and southwestern country business now going into the Northwest. Through the refusal of Mr. Hill and his associates to sell out during the stock market raid last spring, even at the fabulous prices then offered for Northern Pacific stock, the control of the northern roads was retained in the old hands; and, according to Mr. Hill's explanation, the Northern Securities Company was formed to guard against any future scattering of the interests of those having most at stake in the development of the northern lines. The new company does not abolish or absorb either of the two lines in question, but merely becomes, by exchange with present owners, the owner of the majority stock of both. The railroad companies remain as now, separate legal incorporations, and subject of course to the laws of the states through which they pass.

**Real Gist
of the Case**

Of course this explanation has brought out the usual amount of scoffing sarcasm, which is not at all surprising. It is really the only "smart" and matter-of-course thing to discredit, as mere bluff, practically every defensive utterance of a capitalist or manager of industry, no matter how obvious or reasonable it may be in itself, or would be regarded if coming from any other source. If a man like Mr. Hill ventures to suggest that any particular policy he is carrying out will be of economic advantage to the public as well as to himself, the chorus of ridicule at once arises on every hand. Even those who profess to talk sense on economic questions come out with very respectable and scholarly warnings, to

the effect that "of course, the primary object of these gentlemen is not to benefit the public but to increase their own profits,"—and hence, of course, that they are bent upon injuring the public in some way for the sake of private gain. When Mr. Hill speaks of benefits to the Northwest, it is of course merely a part of a deep laid villainous scheme to hoodwink the people into giving him a free rein,—and then! Then indeed, freedom will shriek while the octopus closes down on everything in sight! Rates will be raised everywhere, all building of branch lines or effort to develop the northwestern country will cease, and why? Because "Mr. Hill's primary object is not to benefit the people, but to make profits for himself."

The idea that benefiting the public may be the surest and safest and quickest way of also earning private profits, and that men like Mr. Hill are sagacious enough to appreciate that fact, and experienced enough to know that large permanent profits in legitimate industries can be had in no other way, seems utterly beyond the comprehension of the critics of modern capitalist development. In all the multitude of other industries, where large capital is not involved, this commonplace fact is admitted as a matter of course. Nobody has any difficulty in seeing that the profits of small concerns are the reward of superior service to the public and the incentive to still better service, but when the managers of a large enterprise undertake and profess to conduct it on the same principle, the very idea that any such intention can be genuine is immediately laughed out of court. Not to laugh it out of court is to be set down for a credulous fool.

The fact is, the "smartness" of this sort of criticism has already gone so far beyond the stage of ordinary political demagoguery that it is getting to be simple foolishness. The Northern Securities Company may

be, and undoubtedly is, a virtual consolidation of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy lines, even though the three roads continue as distinct corporations with separate sets of officers. The securities company, further, may have been, and undoubtedly was, formed not merely to hold together the interests of the stockholders in these properties for self-protection, but to unify the policies and management of the roads. Grant all this, and what of it? What is there in this of itself to spell "ruin" to the Northwest? The various governors and attorneys-general, in their tremendous presentments, are asking the supreme court to rule, as a matter of course, that the very fact of consolidation proves an intention to raise rates, stop all new extensions of lines or effort to develop the country, and generally to paralyze the prosperity of the Northwest. We have no knowledge of the legal details of the northern combination, do not pretend to know the ulterior motives of its promoters, have no idea that any of them are in the railroad business either for love or philanthropy; but it is worth while, when a concrete case of political anti-capitalist agitation like this comes up, just to thresh the misinformation and heat and demagoguery out of it, and get at the few kernels of fact in the case, by way of illustration. Sometimes the antagonism is abundantly justified. How is it in this case?

Suppose these patriotic gentlemen, who are holding conventions and junketing to Washington and sending long dispatches at the public expense, should be jointly charged with the management of these consolidated properties of the great Northwest, and come face to face with the question of the wisest business policy to adopt, strictly from the point of view of their own pockets, would they find that competition had been abolished by the consolidation? Hardly. They would

find themselves confronting the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems, not to mention the Canadian Pacific, in keen competition for through Pacific coast business and for immigration business from the East. How would they meet this? By raising rates on the northern lines until all through business went over the other systems, and then shutting off all extensions and improvements designed to make the Northwest more attractive to home-seekers, thus turning the tide of immigration and settlement away to the South? Not unless they were deliberate candidates for bankruptcy or the madhouse.

The truth is, practically every one of the great controlling motives that have induced the northern lines to make favorable rates and pursue broad-minded policies for the development of the section through which they run, operates as powerfully and directly under the consolidation as before, with the added fact that the economy of joint control will permit even more rapid development of the railroad systems and country traversed by reason of the saving of duplicated effort and other needless waste. Even if there were no competition whatever with the central, southern and Canadian lines, it would still be to the interest of the northern system to attract an increasing business by reasonable rate charges, and it would still be to their interest just as much as ever to develop the resources of the Northwest by branch extensions and favorable transportation opportunities for the sake of the new sources of business such a policy will permanently build up. Already a reduction of westbound passenger rates this spring is in prospect on the very lines in question.

If any one should advise Governor Van Sant and his co-workers to conduct their private affairs on the principle of driving away business and preventing the development of their own markets, they would promptly

recommend the man to the violent ward. Yet this is exactly the sort of idiocy they are crediting to the men in control of the northern railway system and trying to rouse the Northwest to prevent.

It is wasted effort; quite as needless as it promises to be costly. If Mr. Hill and his associates should undertake to do a fraction of the terrible things that are keeping Governor Van Sant awake nights, he would bring down on himself a penalty many-fold more severe than anything the laws of Minnesota or any other state could inflict upon him by merely breaking up the Northern Securities Company. There could be only one outcome,—and that bankruptcy—for any such insensate folly as turning business over to the Canadian, central and southern lines, and leaving the northwestern wilderness to be a wilderness instead of a vast, thriving, growing, transportation-furnishing region. Mr. Hill, at least, has made whatever success he has ever achieved by exactly the opposite policy, and there is nothing in the new move to suggest a disposition to try any illusory new tricks.

Meanwhile, for the over-excited statesmen of the Northwest, one suggestion at least is in order. When a group of capitalists, even though in charge of an "octopus," show enough sensitiveness to public opinion to make detailed explanations of their plans and purposes, trying to point out a public advantage as well as profit to themselves, the fact of such effort does not necessarily prove them frauds and impostors. On the contrary, this principle of mutual advantage is the essential basis of all successful modern industry, and applies just as inexorably to a giant railroad corporation as it does to a shoe-shop or a peanut-stand.

**Isthmian Canal
Prospects**

No other interpretation can be put upon the inconsiderate haste of the house of representatives in passing the Hepburn Nicaragua canal bill, on January 9th, than a desire to get the credit for whatever elements of popularity there may be in the Nicaragua proposition, leaving to the senate the responsibility of really deciding the matter. No doubt, if some other route appears more feasible than the Nicaraguan, the house would prefer that the senate have the unpopular task of performing an obvious public duty in the matter of selection, but the result is likely to be quite the opposite of any such expectations. There is no evidence of any overwhelming popular affection for the Nicaragua route, and what there was has not been increased by the action of the house in rushing through the Hepburn bill with practically no serious consideration of the French offer to sell the Panama canal for \$40,000,000. There is plenty of evidence that the Panama route is rapidly growing in general favor, not only among the most careful engineers and investigators of the subject but with the public at large, and if this trend should continue the effort of the house to make the senate do the unpopular thing will prove a complete "miss-fire."

The offer of the Panama canal owners was made on January 4th, in the form of a definite proposition submitted to Admiral John G. Walker, president of the Isthmian canal commission. All properties and concessions belonging to the company—in brief, the results of everything done thus far at Panama—are offered to the United States government at the price of \$40,000,000, which is the value placed upon the Panama properties by our own canal commission. The report of the commission which included this estimate of the Panama situation definitely declared the natural advantages of the Panama route superior to the Nicaragua,

but reported against the Panama because of the exorbitant price the French owners were at that time demanding for it. The commission seems to have lost no time in considering the new offer, and has just submitted a supplementary report to the president, which, after discussing the various features of the two routes, says in conclusion:

"After considering the changed conditions that now exist and all the facts and circumstances upon which its present judgment must be based, the commission is of the opinion that 'the most practicable and feasible route' for an isthmian canal to be 'under the control and management and ownership of the United States' is that known as the Panama route."

The Hepburn bill, passed by the house on January 9th by a vote of 308 to 2, authorizes the president to secure from the governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua the territory necessary to construct a canal, and then to direct the secretary of war to construct and equip it at a maximum expense of \$180,000,000. It is estimated that the Panama canal could be completed for about \$144,000,000, which with the purchase price would make a total of \$184,000,000, while the estimate of the commission for the Nicaragua route is \$189,000,000, or about \$5,000,000 more than the Panama. There is a more reliable basis of accuracy in the Panama estimates than in the Nicaragua, because of the large amount of work already done and the comparatively exact knowledge of just what remains, while at Nicaragua there has been practically no experience either to confirm or discredit the varying estimates of engineers.

Moreover, it is possible at any time to convert the Panama route into a sea level canal, so obviously the desirable final solution of the whole problem, but the Nicaragua must always be operated by locks. Still

further, as the *New York Journal of Commerce* points out, it was really only because the Panama route was not available that the Nicaragua was ever seriously considered at all. The Panama was the first choice of the best available routes, and the Nicaragua second. There is no doubt also that the cost of maintaining the 180 or 190 miles of the Nicaragua canal would be considerably larger all the time than of the 50-mile Panama route, the annual difference being estimated by the canal commission at \$1,300,000 in favor of Panama. Right in connection with this ought to be mentioned the larger liability to accidents on the Nicaragua line, due to the excessive curvature and to the fact that the canal must be carried a considerable distance by embankments above the level of the adjoining country. At one point, at least, the Nicaragua canal depends absolutely on an immense artificial dam, whose uncertain foundations will require a peculiar method of construction which only the test of experience can either justify or condemn. At the present moment the only serious disadvantage in sight in connection with the Panama route is the uncertain status of the political rights and concessions from the government of Colombia; but, as a matter of fact, there is probably less trouble to be feared in getting new and satisfactory concessions from Colombia, wiping out all the old entanglements, than in adjusting the claims of the various corporations which have from time to time secured certain rights and concessions along the Nicaragua route from the governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

The problem of selecting the best route for this monumental undertaking is too serious to be disposed of on mere political grounds. No final decision should be reached until there has been the fullest and fairest consideration of both propositions, and such consideration ought to include not only the engineering prob-

lems of the two routes, the cost of construction and maintenance, and the political and legal complications of each, but, more than any other one thing, the relative adaptation of the two routes for further development towards the maximum of permanent usefulness.

Cuban
Presidential
Election

The United States is proceeding with commendable promptness in setting up the *forms* at least of independent government in Cuba. To what extent the *spirit* of independent government will work peacefully and harmoniously through these forms remains to be seen. The first presidential election in the island, held under the new constitution, occurred on the first of January, and resulted in the practically unanimous choice of General T. Estrada Palma, one of the best known, most consistent and conservative of the Cuban revolutionists and patriots. For the last twenty years General Palma has been a resident of the United States, conducting a school at Central Valley, New York. Once before, in 1875, he was elected president of Cuba, by the revolutionists, but upon the failure of that uprising left the island and forfeited his estates rather than take the oath of allegiance to Spain. Palma is a close friend of General Gomez, representing to the civil and political side of the movement for Cuban independence what Gomez did to the military side; and, in general, stands for friendly relations with the United States as against the anti-Americanism of the Maso party.

General Maso was the candidate for president against Palma in the recent election, but his supporters refused to go to the polls and the total vote cast was very small. The Maso partisans claim, as the reason for not voting, that gross frauds were being committed in Palma's behalf and sanctioned or at least ignored by the United States military authorities. Whether there

is any important degree of truth in this or not, it is certain our authorities favored Palma's election, and this alone was enough, probably, to put the sensibilities of the Maso party on edge. According to the familiar Spanish-American custom, therefore, the faction anticipating defeat declined to exercise the right of suffrage, as a sort of advance justification, presumably, for revolutionary interference with the new government whenever occasion may arise.

Independence, But
Not Annexation

Hardly anything could illustrate better the unfitness of this class of population for annexation to the United States, or for taking part in the workings of our political institutions. The South American republics manage to maintain a fair measure of representative government, with enough picayune revolutions thrown in to keep up the popular interest in public affairs, and Cuba can probably work along after similar fashion, but we are no more called upon to annex the island because of its political disturbances than we are under any moral or political or economic obligations to annex the whole of South and Central America. In fact, any such course would be suicidal folly. The kind of shot-gun democracy maintained in the Spanish-American republics, poor as it is, answers the purpose for the time being, and affords the training and opportunity for something better, but to thrust this into the delicate fabric of our own political institutions, organized on an altogether higher plane of civilization, and so complicate our entire group of industrial and social problems, requiring the most careful, cool-headed judgment of an intelligent, homogeneous body politic, would simply be the entering wedge of disintegration.

It was absolutely true, when the slavery question was to the fore, that this country could not endure

"half slave and half free," and it is equally true to-day that the nation cannot survive half barbarism and half civilization. We have enough barbarism already, represented in the slums of our great cities and the race problem of the South, to put a constant and heavy strain on our democratic experiment, and cannot afford to add any more.

President-elect Palma will have the advantage, at the outset of his administration at least, of the sobering and restraining influence of American military authority in the island, armed with the power of intervention when necessary to "preserve order." He will also have, without question, the support of the most responsible industrial and commercial interests of the island, but whether this will be sufficient to keep his influence and authority effective when American supervision is withdrawn will largely determine the success or failure of Cuba's first real experiment with independent government.

Return of the Chinese Court

The return of the imperial court to Peking marks another step in the rehabilitation of China. It signalizes the fact that, so far at least, the powers are adhering to the program laid out and pledged to each other in the settlement of the Chinese problem: namely, no partition of the empire but maintenance of Chinese nationality, coupled with an extensive series of reforms, including additional rights and ample protection guaranteed to foreigners.

The return after more than a year's absence was marked by startling departures from tradition. There was an unprecedented amount of publicity in the various ceremonies and marked attention and respect shown to foreigners; all of which are external evidences, at least, that the idea has actually made its way into the royal

Chinese head that the day of exclusiveness is past, and that China's salvation lies in definitely making a place for herself in the group of modern nations.

There is further encouragement for this hope in certain imperial edicts recently issued, one on the subject of education and another providing for the sending of Chinese students abroad to study western ideas and methods. In the former it is declared, for example, that:—

“Aside from the imperial university at Peking, which must be put in thorough order, it is commanded the viceroys and governors in the various provinces each to convert the schools at the provincial capital into a college, and let each prefecture, subprefecture, and independent department establish an intermediate school, and each department and district a lower grade school with numerous primary schools. In the curriculum let the four books and five classics, with the three bonds and five virtues, form in a general way the foundation, and history, Chinese and foreign government, and industrial science to be employed to supplement this course. Let earnest effort be made to inform the mind, to secure upright conduct, to improve both literary talents and character, and produce men acquainted with the times, diligent in the pursuit of real usefulness. This will approximate the laying of a foundation [for] the completion of virtue and the improvement of talent, which will assist in fulfilling the purpose of the throne to secure men equipped for the duties of government. Let each of the viceroys, governors, and literary chancellors earnestly consult together and proceed as directed. As to the teachers needed, the rules to be established for the schools, and the methods to be employed to reward those students who shall complete the course of instruction, and all the details of such regulations, let the board of national administration issue instructions to all the provincial authorities to prepare the same, and when they shall have been submitted, let the said board, together with the board of rites, again examine them and prepare a memorial.”

In the edict relating to sending students abroad, the viceroys and governors of the various provinces in China are directed to:—

“Exert themselves to select students of mental gifts, upright character, literary talents and a general knowledge of affairs, who shall go abroad to thoroughly educate themselves, particularly in the specialized branches of industrial science. Let them acquire a thorough mastery of some profession, and genuinely exert themselves in the pursuit of knowledge.

"When their education shall have been completed and they shall have obtained their diplomas and returned to China, let the viceroys and governors and literary chancellors of the provinces concerned at once divide them into classes, according to the courses of study which they may have pursued, and examine them. If their knowledge shall really correspond with the statements made in their diplomas, the authorities mentioned shall issue a document certifying the same, and send it with the student to the board of foreign affairs, who, after further examination, shall select the most worthy and memorialize us, requesting honors to be conferred on them. As to the expenses attendant upon such travel and study, let each province arrange some satisfactory method of paying the same, and it will be permitted to enter the item under the head of government expenditure.

"Should any person go abroad to study at his own expense, let the viceroy and governor of his province at once report the fact to the Chinese minister in the country to be visited, that he may look after such students as occasion may require. If he shall complete his course of study and obtain a first-class diploma, on his return to China he shall be permitted to enter the examinations on the same terms as the students which have been sent abroad by the government. Afterwards they will await an imperial decree bestowing upon them, according to their attainments, the degrees of doctor and master of arts, that they may be prepared for official employment and to encourage the pursuit of learning."

The success of the present dynasty in China, with its new lease of power, will depend largely on the firmness of the court in resisting Russian aggressions in Manchuria, and the chief danger point ahead is the empress dowager's known friendliness to Russian designs in that quarter. Apparently she is still the controlling force in the government, but a fresh attempt to thwart the will of the powers by secret concessions to Russia would unquestionably bring on a new kind of foreign intervention with the permanent deposition of this shrewd and masterful ruler as the outcome.

**Current Price
Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Jan. 21, 1902	Oct. 21, 1901	Jan. 21, 1901
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.95	\$3.70	\$3.90
Wheat, No. 2 red	88½	78½	79½
Corn, No. 2 mixed	68½	61½	47

	Jan. 21, 1902	Oct. 21, 1901	Jan. 21, 1901
Oats, No. 2 mixed	51	39½	30½
Pork, mess	16.75	16.00	14.00
Beef, hams	19.50	21.50	17.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7	6	6½	7½
Sugar, granulated	4.65	5.10	5.50
Butter, creamery, extra	23½	22½	22
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy	11½	10	12
Cotton, middling upland	8½ ⁸ ₁₆	8½	9½
Print cloths	3	3	3½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.20	7.65	7.45
Hides, native steers	13½	13½	11½
Leather, hemlock	24½	24½	24
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	16.00	16.00	15.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.00	15.00	15.25
Tin, Straits	24.00	25.00	26.75
Copper, Lake ingot	11.00	16.85	16.87½
Lead, domestic	4.00	4.37½	4.37½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20.	4.40	4.40	—
Steel rails	28.00	28.00	—
Wire nails (Pittsburg)	2.00	2.30	—

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	Jan. 3, 1902	Dec. 6, 1901	Jan. 4, 1901
Steel rails (ton)	\$26.52	\$26.52	\$29.22
Scotch pig iron (ton)	11.65	13.21	13 11
Copper (100 lbs.)	11.84	13.39	17.61
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	25.86	27.43	28.81
Lead, English pig (100 lbs.)	2.55	2.77	4.01
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . . . .	.08	.08	.10
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	.12	.12	.10

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for January 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Jan. 1, 1898	Jan. 1, 1899	Jan. 1, 1900	Jan. 1, 1901	Dec. 1, 1901	Jan. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs.	\$17.700	\$13.511	\$13.816	\$13.254	\$14.486	\$19.528	\$20.002
Meats	7.895	7.336	7.520	7.258	8.407	9.259	9.670
Dairy and garden	13 180	12.371	11.458	13.702	15.556	15.675	15.248
Other food	9 185	8.312	9.096	9.200	9.504	9.081	8.952
Clothing	13.430	14.654	14 150	17.484	16.024	15.331	15.547
Metals.	14.665	11.572	11.843	18.085	15.810	15 722	15.375
Miscellaneous	13.767	12.184	12.540	16.312	15.881	16.782	16.793
Total	\$89.822	\$79.940	\$80.423	\$95.295	\$95.668	\$101.378	\$101.587

The general level is a trifle higher than on December 1st, the increase being in breadstuffs and meats. There are indications, however, of a slackening in the upward movement and return to a lower cost of living; meanwhile, the agricultural interests of the country are enjoying a degree of prosperity which ought to form the basis of extensive economic improvements, permitting a lower range of prices in the future without the losses and bankruptcies of previous low-price eras.

"Cost of Living" *Dun's Review* for January 4th makes the following timely and sensible comment on the real meaning of the present relatively high "cost of living:"

"It is to be regretted that the compilation of prices here given has been quoted in support of efforts to stir up antagonism between wage-earners and employers. In this connection the claim has been made that the remarkable advance in the cost of living since July 1, 1897, was due to combinations of capital, and that the manufacturer secured all the difference in price, while the wage-earners were not earning any more money, although compelled to pay the advanced quotations for all things consumed. These statements are very far from the truth. Not only are the wage-earners receiving much better pay than at the earlier date, but they are well employed. It was this factor, more than any other, which produced the depression that culminated on July 1, 1897, with prices at the lowest point in the nation's history. The rate of wages is of trifling importance when there is no work. It was estimated by labor experts at the time that three million men were unable to find employment. This means that fifteen million persons were living on as little as possible, and consequently the consumptive demand was reduced to the lowest point. At the present time there is little

difficulty in meeting the higher level of quotations, for there is full employment, and each man has only his own family to think of instead of a host of unfortunate relatives and friends, as was the case during the earlier period.

“Moreover, the suggestion that the manufacturers and the capitalists are pocketing all the profits is equally open to contradiction. These are not the men who have advanced the number of deposits in savings banks to the highest point on record, nor increased the life insurance policies to present phenomenal figures. Examination of the index number table shows that the farming population receives the greatest share of enhanced prices, the rise in breadstuffs falling little short of 90 per cent., while meats rose nearly 30 per cent., and dairy and garden products 75 per cent. Much of the latter gain is due to the change in season, as eggs, milk, etc., are all more expensive in winter than in midsummer, but this factor enters into the record and cannot be ignored. Coming to manufactured products, there is a sudden fall in the percentage of gain, the clothing class rising but 11 per cent. This does not endorse the statement that the manufacturers are securing all the advanced cost of living. In fact, analysis of the clothing quotations in detail makes the showing still less favorable for the manufacturer.

“Under the heading of ‘The Industries,’ published elsewhere in this paper, there appears a table comparing the prices of a few of the principal products of manufacture and the raw material in each case. Here it appears that the advance in the finished article has not by any means been commensurate with the rise in material. For instance, hides are 49.5 per cent. higher than on January 1, 1888, while leather, the partially manufactured product, is 4.3 per cent. higher, but boots and shoes are actually 8.3 per cent. lower in cost to the

consumer than at the earlier date. Woolens alone, of the articles covered in the table, show a slightly higher percentage than the material, which is due to the peculiar depression recently felt in the wool market. Despite the marvelous demand for iron and steel products and the existence of the most complete industrial combination that ever existed, there appears a rise of but 35 per cent. in that class, while in the miscellaneous division there is a gain of 37 per cent over July 1, 1897, chiefly due to lumber and building materials. As the laboring man does not as a rule own his home, the greater cost of structural products is not a disturbing element to him. On the other hand, the wage-earner benefits by low rents and better accommodations, which have followed the increase of money seeking investment and consequent fall in interest rates. Capitalists who formerly received 7 per cent. or more on their properties are now glad to take 4 or 5. These facts cannot be considered evidence that the few have reaped all the benefits of the marvelous advance of prices at the expense of the many."

GROWTH OF USEFUL ECONOMICS

The common remark, "That is true in theory but not in practice," is the unconscious indictment of society against economic science. Against no other science is such a remark ever heard. In all other fields of knowledge the conclusions of the science are the bases of action in relation to the subject. But in trade, industry and public affairs the practical experience of those responsible for results is almost universally contrary to the theoretic teachings of the standard expounders of economic science. This is chiefly due to the fact that the doctrines of economics have been too largely the result of abstract deductions from assumed postulates rather than of scientific induction. Classical English economists constructed a body of doctrine upon certain assumed fundamental principles which have been treated as absolute, inflexible laws to which all economic, social and political policies must be adjusted.

The central or most emphasized of these propositions was freedom. It was assumed that every person will do that which is best for himself, and follow the lines of greatest advantage if only he is given a chance. This involved a denial of the right of government to interfere in business, trade or industry, and resulted in the political embodiment of the free trade theory. Although altogether unscientific, this theory was a natural outcome of the conditions prevailing from the 13th century to the birth of the factory system. The economic doctrines were then taught almost exclusively by the church, whose authorities, like Thomas Aquinas, laid down ethical standards for business conduct, the aim being to enforce equity in industrial dealings. All through the middle ages the ethical postulates of the

church were made the basis of political mandates by the king, and the rule of the barons. Hence prices of commodities, wages, kinds of clothing, and many other economic conditions were fixed by authority. With the growth of industry this jurisdiction passed from religious to secular authority, and resulted in oppression and corruption. Hence, when the factory system appeared and a new era in business, manufacture and industry dawned, this paternalism became unbearable. The inevitable consequence was an economic revolt by the manufacturing class against the industrial paternalism of the landed aristocracy.

As the prophet of this new class, Adam Smith wrote his "Wealth of Nations," the keynote of which was freedom of industry from government interference and unrestricted competition as the sole rule and regulator of economic conditions. The followers of Adam Smith, and practically all English economists down to the last quarter of the 19th century, elaborated and emphasized this doctrine. So conclusive was it regarded that writers in kindred fields, like Buckle and Spencer, accepted the doctrine as the inflexible law of economic movement. The influence of such action was to array economists, publicists and statesmen of the new regime against every mode of government aid to labor and business. Along the entire line of economic and commercial experience, the new doctrines resolutely opposed anything in the direction of legislative helpfulness, on the ground that it was paternal interference with the freedom of the individual and an infringement of his God-given rights.

There were some phases of this doctrine which were eminently sound and helpful. It led to the breaking down of many of the old social and religious restrictions. It helped, for instance, to abolish slavery; it aided the movement of religious freedom; it encour-

aged the abolition of the political discrimination against Catholics and Jews, and helped to abolish the repressive duties on newspapers, and did much to extend the right of suffrage. Where progress required the overthrow of mediæval barriers, this doctrine of *laissez faire* was eminently helpful, but wherever progress called for the constructive function of society this doctrine was aggressively obstructive.

This persistent opposition to the protective power of government in the interest of progress, especially to the factory acts and all measures for the benefit of labor, really brought socialism, trade unions and chartism into existence. These movements were all organized as a protest against the negative freedom-preaching but oppression-aiding theory of political economy. Through the impotence of English doctrine and the failure of the Austrian school to render any helpful aid to public policy, economic thought, especially in this country, has been forced in the direction of the practical problems of modern society. In attempting to explain the obvious benefits of trade unions, protective tariffs and other movements, economics has begun to take on a truly scientific spirit, and to reason from verified data instead of abstract postulates.

This change in economic thought in the United States is clearly indicated in the annual addresses and discussions of the American Economic Association. During the last ten years there has been a noticeable tendency in these discussions to give increasing attention to the practical aspects of economics. The accomplishments of trade unions, the beneficial economic and social results of industrial legislation, and the more complete social and economic statistics, have forced upon economists a broader, more inductive and truly social study of the subject. This was strikingly illustrated in the annual meeting of the above named

association recently held in Washington, which was admittedly the most successful meeting the association has had during its fourteen years of existence. The four most significant papers were direct challenges to the negative *laissez faire* school of economists.

First was the opening address of the president of the association, Dr. Richard T. Ely, on "Industrial Liberty." The second was by Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, of Harvard University, in favor of protection; the third was by Mr. Herman Justi, commissioner of Illinois Coal Operators' Association, on "The Joint Conference Organization of Capital and Labor;" and the fourth by Dr. Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, on "The Economic Interpretation of History."

The keynote of Dr. Ely's address was a departure from the negative idea of liberty. He took the position, so often stated in these pages, that liberty is not the mere absence of arbitrary restrictions; that to remove government action does not necessarily increase freedom, but may often lessen it; that in modern society the highest freedom is secured by restrictive legislation. He clearly pointed out that the mere unprotected right of contract does not really give any right of contract at all. To say to the women and children and to the great majority of men that they are at liberty to make whatever contracts they can with rich employers and large corporations, is really not to give them any liberty to make a contract. In the very nature of the case, they are all the time under economic duress; they have neither the power to refuse the corporation's offer nor the power to insist upon a better one.

For instance, the length of the working day and the age at which children shall be employed, the sanitary condition of the workshop, have been literally beyond the power of the laborers materially to affect by the so-

called freedom of contract. Freedom primarily depends on social welfare. Nothing so destroys freedom as poverty, and nothing sustains freedom like wealth. It therefore became absolutely necessary for society to establish limits within which the capitalist should exact service from the laborers, even under the form of contract. By saying children should not work in factories under twelve years of age, that women and children should not be employed more than ten hours a day, that machinery should not be run without certain safeguards to life and limb, and that factories should not be operated without certain sanitary conditions, a limit was put upon what the employer might exact for a day's pay.

This has proved to be a real contribution to the freedom of the laborer, because it was an improvement in the laborer's condition; it helped education, it advanced his physical well-being, it lessened physical exhaustion, and thus increased the possibilities of social betterment, all of which tended to produce a more intelligent, independent citizen, better capable of making advantageous contracts for himself.

Dr. Ely gave abundant instances of how the liberty of the many is extended by placing limitations on the power of contract by the powerful few. Mere negative liberty generally results in despotic oppression. Constructive liberty increases the freedom of the masses by restricting the power of the coercive few. To be effective, liberty must be protected as well as permitted; it needs to be safeguarded by positive institutions. This point of view was well sustained by Dr. Ely:

"It is manifest," he says, that "the absence of all social regulations means the unrestricted tyranny of the strong. Plato clearly saw this when he asserted that 'the most aggravated forms of tyranny and slavery arise out of the most extreme form of liberty.'"

"Mazzini also saw this clearly enough when he said of liberty: 'If you enthrone it alone as means and end, it will lead society first to an-

archy, afterward to the despotism you fear.' . . . Liberty cannot be an absolute ideal, because authority is needed in society in order to secure the harmonious cooperation of its various elements, and without social authority we could have no production of wealth, and we should be without the material basis of that large and positive liberty which enables us to employ our faculties in the common service. This social authority rests, for the most part, upon the great institutions of society—property, vested interests, contract and personal conditions."

All this is eminently sound and well said. The positive conception of freedom, which is both philosophic and historic, takes account of the fact that freedom is not mere permission, but the power to do, to have and to be. Without the secured opportunity to do, the mere permission often is impotent. It was this half-true conception of liberty that led Herbert Spencer to get on the wrong side of nearly all modern economic propositions and unwittingly become the endorser of socialism, which he abhors, and to lend aid to Henry George's scheme of confiscation against which he so painfully, though ineffectually, protested.

This positive theory of freedom is truly economic and social. It recognizes the scientific use of the state in promoting the welfare and freedom of the individual. From this point of view, protective tariffs, labor organizations, public improvements, free libraries, free popular education, sanitary improvement, restriction of the hours of labor, limitation of the conditions of contract, are all constructive aids to freedom. This puts the theory of freedom in real harmony with the historic progress of society.

Dr. Carver's paper on "Some Theoretical Possibilities of a Protective Tariff" was significant as a departure from the lifeless skeleton of economic abstraction for which Harvard stands. As a scientific discussion of protection it was not especially strong. There was indeed an evident tremor of timidity running through the whole paper. He seemed very much like

one doing penance by walking on eggs, with a serious penalty for breaking one. Some of his reasoning, indeed, was rather antiquated, such as the quantity theory of wages and prices, but the real significance of Dr. Carver's paper is that it recognized the fact that there is a scientific aspect to the protective tariff. In view of the fact that Harvard University has stood so rigidly for the doctrine of free trade, its president sometimes even becoming a stump speaker against protection, Dr. Carver's paper before the economic association in defence of a protective tariff is a sign of real growth towards scientific and sensible economics.

Mr. Herman Justi's paper on "Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Mining Industry" was entirely free from abstract theory. It was an explanation of the experience of the joint meetings of miners and operators in the Illinois coal field, and an appeal from this experience for the adoption of the principle of joint organized action of employers and laborers. The facts presented by Mr. Justi and confirmed by Carroll D. Wright, United States commissioner of labor, were a refutation of the doctrine of the *laissez faire* school, which, in the words of Professor Perry, is that "the value of labor, the value of commodities, and the value of claims are each controlled by the grand law of demand and supply" (page 211), and, therefore:

"There is no use in arguing against any one of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic. The question of wages is a question of division. It is complained that the quotient is too small. Well, then, how many ways are there to make a quotient larger? Two ways. Enlarge your dividend, the divisor remaining the same, and the quotient will be larger; lessen your divisor, the dividend remaining the same, and the quotient will be larger." ("Political Economy," page 123.)

The simple English of this is that neither organi-

zation nor legislation can do anything to improve the laborers' condition. If wages are too low the only remedy is for laborers to reduce their numbers—die or emigrate. Under this theory, war, pestilence and famine are the only reliable agencies for improving the condition of labor. The persistent tendency toward labor organization and industrial legislation has completely demonstrated the utter worthlessness of this abstract *a priori* reasoning.

Dr. Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia, who was elected president of the association for the coming year, read the concluding paper, on "The Economic Interpretation of History." This was a strong paper. Though undemonstrative and moderate in tone, by the very quiet, scientific treatment of the subject, it cut the ground entirely from under the whole structure of the *a priori*, absolute rights doctrine of society. Dr. Seligman showed by irresistible induction that all the superior qualities of character in civilized society are the result of social growth, produced by the ever varying experience with social forces. The notion, such as presented by Dr. Abbott in his "Rights of Man," Spencer and Henry George, about God giving the land to man, and any exclusive right over it or use of it by any given portion of the human race is robbery, vanishes as the merest fantasy under the scientific and truly philosophical treatment of Dr. Seligman. The conspicuous fact everywhere observable is that feeling, sentiment and desire always constitute the propelling force in human advance. The intellect is the cold, colorless director of the efforts to satisfy the desires of sentiment and feeling. It compares the experiences, generalizes the results, criticises the failures, commends the successes and devises means to accomplish the approved ends. It is through this process that all economic, social, ethical and political progress has come.

"Social law," says Dr. Seligman, "rests on the observation that men will choose a course of action in harmony with what they conceive to be their welfare, and on the further observation that the very idea of an organized community implies that a majority will be found to entertain common ideas of what is their welfare. If the conditions change, the common ideas will change with them."

Of course this view is apt to be regarded as materialistic, which seems repulsive to ethical and religious teachers, but there is really no good reason why it should be any more so than is the fact that the physical body, which is indispensable in moral or religious life, is sustained by material substance. The economic interpretation of history and social progress does not in the least diminish the importance of ethical and religious influences. On this point Dr. Seligman well says:

"What is generally forgotten, however, is not only that the content of the conception of morality is a social product, but that amid all the complex social conditions the economic factors are often of chief significance, and that the influence of pure ethical or religious idealism can make itself felt only within the limitations of existing economic conditions. Slavery, for instance, was not considered wrong by the great Greek moralists, whose ethical views on many other topics were at least on a plane with those of modern times. . . . To the ethical teachers of the middle ages feudal rights did not seem to be wrongs. The hardy pioneer of New England needed a different set of virtues from those which their successors in a softer age have acquired; the attempt to subdue the Indian by love, charity and non-resistance would have meant not so much the disappearance of evil as the disappearance of the colonists. The moral ideal of a frontier society is as legitimate from the point of view of their needs as the very different ideal of a later stage of society. The virtue of hospitality is far more important in the pastoral stage than in the industrial. The ethical relation of master to workmen under the factory system is not the same as under the guild system. . . . To sound the praises of mercy and love to a band of marauding savages would be futile; but when the old conditions of warfare are no longer really needed for self-defence, the moral teacher can do a great work in introducing more civilized practices, which shall be in harmony with the real needs of the new society. It is always on the border line of the transition from the old social necessity to the new social convenience that the ethical reformer makes his influence felt. . . . Unless the social conditions, however, are ripe for the change, the demand of the ethical reformer will be the voice crying out in the wilderness. Only if the conditions are ripe will the reform be effected.

"The moral ideals are thus continually in the forefront of the contest for progress. The ethical teacher is the scout and vanguard of society; but he will be followed only if he enjoys the confidence of the people, and the real battle will be fought by the main body of social forces, amid which the economic conditions are in last resort so often decisive. . . . With every improvement in the material condition of the great mass of the population there will be a great opportunity for the unfolding of a higher moral life, but not until the economic conditions of society become ideal will the ethical development of the individual have a free field for limitless progress."

All this is so obviously true that one wonders that it could ever have been ignored, and even more that it should for a moment be questioned. In the early middle ages it was not only the moral but the religious duty of priests to lead armies in the field of battle, while to-day the influence of the Christian church is opposed to war altogether, because the same kind of necessity for warfare, namely, preservation of society itself, no longer exists.

The significance of history and progress is that it really puts the means of human improvement within the reach of human society. It shows that the character and welfare of man and the type of institutions are not fixed by absolute standards, but are governed by a universal law of variation and unification of interests, ideas, conditions and adjustments. The idea that blind nature is the infallible director of human destiny, and that free institutional action can do nothing but muddle the conditions of life, is as false as it is pessimistic and discouraging. The doctrine that human growth is the result of opportunity and diversified experiences gives at once a broader, more philosophic and altogether more scientific and helpful aspect to economic science, and redeems it from that dismal pessimism of negative helplessness with which the *laissez faire* abstraction has so long invested it.

PROSPECTS OF DOMESTIC SUGAR PRODUCTION

JOSEPH BIDDLE WILKINSON, JR.

In tariff schedules sugar, more than any other article, combines both revenue and protective features. Yielding an annual revenue of nearly \$60,000,000, the protective duty has developed a production of nearly 350,000 tons. The consumption of sugar in the United States amounts to about 2,000,000 tons. As an item of family expense the cost of sugar exceeds that of bread or butter. What a glorious achievement it would be to produce altogether at home an article for which we now send abroad an annual tribute of nearly \$100,000,000!

The cane sugar industry was practically wiped out by the civil war. Factories were rebuilt and cane was planted anew when the strife was over; and the price of 10 cents a pound for brown sugar, which prevailed for some years, together with a protective duty of from 3 to 5 cents a pound, gave promise of highly remunerative crops. But free labor at from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a day took the place of slave labor, while ante-bellum methods were still followed.

Under the old system the 1500 plantations did not average much more than 200 acres of cane. The sugar machinery consisted of a small, weak mill and a set of open kettles, or six immense iron pots set over a wood furnace. Less than 50 tons of cane per day were ground and the output was less than 100 pounds of sugar per ton. The labor cost of running such an establishment was almost as much as that required for a modern factory handling 1000 tons of cane a day, with a product of more than 200 pounds of sugar per ton. For instance, a first-class engineer was required for the weak

machinery, which had frequent breakdowns, while the modern mill requiring no higher talent is powerful enough to crush iron or any other foreign substance which may be caught between the rolls. The open kettle sugar maker often got \$500 per month, while a good vacuous pan sugar boiler can now be had for less than \$100. Under the old system, too, as much as 5 cords of wood or 25 barrels of coal would be used to make 1000 pounds of sugar, while the same work is done to-day with two barrels of coal or less.

The old planters soon failed and dropped out of business, until to-day in the list of planters there is scarcely a name identified with the ante-bellum sugar industry. The roster to-day is made up of northern men or of merchants to whom the plantations fell by mortgage.

The splendid and hospitable homes, with grounds adorned with marble statuary, fragrant with rose and jessamine and beautiful with tropical foliage and flowers, have disappeared, and the proprietor is now represented by a manager or overseer who may have a cabbage bed, but who seldom has, or would appreciate, a flower garden. The small sugar house has gone, too, and ten, fifteen or more plantations are tributary to a great central factory. The central factory either owns and runs these plantations or buys the cane from them at a price per ton graded according to the market quotations of sugar.

The cost of a central factory grinding not less than 1000 tons of cane a day is at least \$250,000. Such an establishment contains every known labor-saving device, every improvement in fuel economy and the latest inventions for the maximum extraction and production of saccharine matter from the cane.

Cane planting and sugar manufacture are very profitable at the price of $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound for granu-

lated, a few months ago. But the progress of the cane industry is slow owing to the capital required, and to the necessity of ensuring a supply of cane before the factory is built. Cane does not grow like wheat or corn from seed, but from eyes on the stalk; and as many eyes prove defective it is customary to plant two or three continuous rows of stalks in trenches between six and seven feet apart. About 10,000 pounds of cane worth between \$15 and \$20 is thus required to plant an acre. But the development of the industry has been steady during the past fifteen years, although it has been retarded by tariff tinkerings, some unfavorable seasons and the causes already mentioned.

In Wisconsin, Kansas and Texas attempts were made during a series of years to develop sorghum as a sugar-producing plant. The ventures, although encouraged by state bounties and aid from the United States agricultural department, proved failures, and, it is believed, all the sorghum plants have been abandoned.

There have been very different results, however, in the development of the beet sugar industry. The first factories were established about fifteen years ago in Maine, New Jersey and New York. These proved to be failures; and it was not until the Oxnard factory was erected in Nebraska about twelve years ago that the beet industry was established on a permanent basis. In this industry, too, the great cost of the factory together with the necessity of coordinating the production of beets rendered progress slow. But Claus Spreckels, the sugar king of the Pacific, embarked in California in the manufacture of beet sugar, and there are now in successful operation nine factories in California and others in Oregon, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Michigan, New Mexico and New York. Many more are being erected or planned. The cane area in the

United States is very limited, but the beet belt extends from ocean to ocean and is of sufficient extent to produce sugar for the world.

A beet sugar factory costs about the same as a cane sugar central factory. The methods of treating the juice, syrup and sugar are much the same in both, but the extraction is different. Cane is crushed between powerful rolls and the fibre, called bagasse, passes on a carrier into the furnace for use as fuel. The beets after being sliced up are dumped into large cylindrical tanks, and a flow of water passing through the slices from one tank to another extracts the sugar by diffusion. This process is a phenomenon known to scientists as osmosis, or the transference of two liquids separated by a membrane, in opposite directions through the diaphragm. An interesting experiment in illustration is to suspend a bladder filled with the brine of salt beef in fresh water. The salt will after a time all disappear, leaving in the bladder a rich extract of beef fit for making soup. Again, if a bladder filled with syrup of sugar be immersed in water, the syrup will pass through the bladder into the water, and the water will pass through in the opposite direction. In the same way the sugar in the cells of the beet passes through the membrane of the cell, water taking its place. This is theoretically the best process of sugar extraction, but the residuum beet pulp is a fine stock food, while sodden cane slices or chips cannot be used for fuel. It seems likely, however, that diffusion chips will find use as paper stock, in which event the diffusion process may be considered preferable in the extraction of cane sugar.

The beet grown in this country is richer in sugar than that produced in Europe, and the cost of manufacture is probably not greater here than there. The expense of labor in cultivating the beet is the only drawback to the rapid development of the industry.

Corn and wheat are planted and cultivated altogether by mechanical implements. But manual labor is an important element in beet culture. No substitute for the hand has been found for weeding the plants, and this is not an attractive kind of work. Although such labor costs four times more here than in Europe, the tariff offsets the difference, and with stable protection this difficulty is not likely to be an insuperable obstacle.*

Our cane and beet sugar industries are now on a stable basis, and there is nothing in the outlook at home or abroad to contradict the belief that within the next decade we could produce at least one-half of the sugar consumed in the United States.†

So long as domestic sugar was grown only in the free-trade South there was little disposition on the part of the protectionists to look upon the industry with favor, and the duties imposed were for revenue with incidental protection. But now that sugar is grown North, East, West and South, there will probably be sufficient political strength to maintain the present generous protection of about 75 per cent.

The domestic interests have looked with some alarm at the possibility of free competition with Cuba and our colonial dependencies. But some considerations lead to the belief that the danger is not so serious after all. We have had free sugar from Hawaii for more than 20 years and the Sandwich Islands can hardly exceed their present annual production of 200,000 tons. The crop of Porto Rico is insignificant. The Philip-pines are an unknown quantity. But even if, under unsettled conditions, there could be a large production

*Recent experimentation has evolved a method of weeding by machinery which saves from two-thirds to three-quarters of the hand labor formerly required. [EDITOR.]

†According to the estimates of Hon. James Wilson, secretary of agriculture, if the continuance of adequate protective encouragement were assured, we could in a decade supply the entire home demand for sugar. [EDITOR.]

of sugar in that quarter it does not seem likely that congress would allow the industry of the states to suffer from free competition with oriental labor.

Cuba is looked upon as by far the most formidable competitor. That island one year produced 1,000,000 tons of sugar and has land enough to more than supply the United States. Capital, too, could be found in sufficient quantity. But there are three factors required in the production of sugar, and soil and money are only two. The third is labor. Under Spanish rule there was forced labor. In addition to the constant importation of coolies the negro labor was under contract. If there was any disposition to loaf, a company of soldiers was sent to the plantation to keep things lively.

How is it to be with labor now? If history or experience teaches anything the natives cannot be relied on. The story of Jamaica and San Domingo will be repeated. Under enlightened British rule the sugar industry of Jamaica is moribund. Immigrants cannot be relied on. Immigrants to the United States prefer the bleak fields of the Northwest to the fertile soil of the sunny South. They do not care to come in competition or contact with the colored labor of the South. And the same sentiment will operate against any large emigration to Cuba.

There appears to be nothing to fear from our dependencies, and there is nothing to fear from Europe so long as there is a countervailing duty against the bounty-fed sugars of the continent. The world will soon produce 10,000,000 tons of sugar per annum, but consumption keeps equal pace. There is nothing to discourage but rather much to brighten the outlook for the domestic sugar industry.

SOME FREE SUGAR FALLACIES

It seems to be in the nature of things that when an economic question gets into politics it becomes subject to loose treatment and special pleading. Partial statements, exaggerations, suppression of inconvenient facts and other forms of misrepresentation which would not be tolerated in a scientific discussion are indulged in with impunity, when the subject enters the realm of politics.

We are now having a special example of this method of treating public questions in the case of free sugar for Cuba; and it is really an interesting study to see the sharp turns and clever somersaults that are being made in the various ways of dealing with the subject. During the Cuban revolution, when it was proposed that the United States help the revolutionists in their struggle, conspicuous free trade papers in New York were violent in their opposition, declaring that the Cubans were a worthless lot; that they were incapable of self-government, and that it was no part of our business or duty to concern ourselves about Cuban freedom or Cuban industries. Now, when there is an opportunity to strike at the tariff, they tell us that it is a Christian duty, a moral obligation, to take off the duty from sugar in order to help the poor Cubans.

For many years these free-trade journals denied that the beet sugar industry could ever make a success in this country. Since the industry has developed so rapidly, especially during the last few years, that this method of treatment is no longer possible, the reverse tactics are adopted: namely, to declare that the beet sugar industry no longer needs protection; that it is sufficiently well established to be profitable even with free sugar.

In order to promote this view, the New York *Evening Post* of December 12th published a two and a half column circular letter that had been issued by Cutting and Oxnard in 1899 to show that the manufacture of beet sugar was a financial success. This article, sustained by facts of actual experience, showed that beet sugar could be profitably produced in this country at the price of sugar which prevailed from '91 to '93, when sugar was on the free list. It presented figures showing the cost of growing beets and manufacturing the refined sugar, which sustained this contention. The object of this article was to encourage the organization of very large concentrated concerns which should use the most modern machinery and develop further scientific improvement in the sugar industry. It pointed out that under these conditions the sugar industry would be practically out of harm's reach under free trade.

The *Evening Post* republishes this article, and calls attention editorially to the fact that here is a confession by beet sugar producers that the industry can be prosperous without protection, and declares that this is conclusive proof that the tariff on sugar is unnecessary. This article has been reprinted in whole or in part throughout the country; parts of it are being circulated in slips by the hundreds of thousands, and the *Post* and other papers keep constantly printing editorials citing the facts of this article as proof that no protection is necessary to sugar production.

And now Governor-General Wood is writing articles appealing to the Christian sympathies of the American people to abolish the duty on sugar for the benefit of Cuba, on the ground that protection to the beet sugar industry in this country is no longer needed. To use the Cutting-Oxnard article, which was based on the price of sugar in 1891-'93, as equally applicable to the facts of 1902, is inexcusable. Many newspapers

might not know any better, but the *Post* cannot escape on any such a plea. All the conclusions in this article were based on the assumption that sugar would be something over 4 cents a pound. The prices during the three years referred to as given in the article were: 1891, 4.041 cents a pound; 1892, 4.346 cents a pound; 1893, 4.84 cents a pound.

Now the *Post* knows, and so does every intelligent student of the subject and every observer of the markets, that the free-trade price of sugar to-day is not 4 cents nor $3\frac{1}{2}$, but very close to 3 cents. For example, Cuban sugar is being put in bond in New York for 2.07 cents a pound. The cost of refining to-day is something less than $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent a pound, but, even granting that it is the maximum claimed by Mr. Havemeyer of .63 of a cent, that would give us refined sugar, free of duty, at less than $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound.

We can thus have refined sugar from Cuba for $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents and from Germany for $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In the face of these facts, what is the use of listening to any arguments based on 4-cent sugar? While all Mr. Cutting said might be true, with sugar at 4 cents a pound, the entire reasoning is made ridiculous by the present price of sugar. Of course it does not take much of a mind to see that what might be true with 4-cent sugar, might, and probably would be, false with $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3-cent sugar. And yet that is what all the editorial scolding and sophistical special pleading based on the Cutting-Oxnard article amounts to, and it is really difficult to believe that all those who are using this argument are innocent of the facts. The price given for the German sugar is the average price for the whole year of 1901, which is considerably higher than the present. For the last three months of 1901 the average price was only about 2.16 cents, while the most con-

servative estimate of the cost of production of beet sugar in this country is 3.7 cents.

It is needless to say that with such a state of facts the merest novice can see that with free sugar the American sugar industry would be wiped out of existence at a single stroke.

There are two groups of interested persons whose statements, of course, should be accepted with careful scrutiny, on the assumption not that they are dishonest, but that they are anxious to get as much as possible out of the government and as near a monopoly as possible for their own industry—one is the Cuban planters, the other the American refiners and owners of Cuban plantations. With the first group there is proper ground for the American people having a sympathetic interest. They are the people who have struggled for freedom against Spain in Cuba. Their future prosperity depends to a large extent on the success of the sugar industry in the island. If left alone, untutored by politicians and uncoerced by the American sugar refiners, these people would ask only feasible and legitimate aid from the United States. When the Cuban delegates first came to this country all they asked was that Cuban sugar should have a preference over German and European sugar in the American market. They did not ask, much less expect, that congress would adopt a policy granting them privileges in the American market which should injure the American industry. So far from asking this they proclaimed that they did not expect it and did not need it. They said: We cannot compete with German and Russian sugar producers in Europe because of the bounty given by the home governments to the industry there. All we ask is that the tariff be so adjusted as to give us a little advantage in the American market over German and other European competitors.

How much concession is really needed to put Cuba in this position and not injure our domestic industry can easily be determined by the comparative costs of putting sugar in the American market from Cuba and Germany. The average price for the whole year of 1901 at which German sugar could be put on board ship at Hamburg was 18 cents a pound. During the last three months of 1901 it was put on board at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In Cuba during the same time the cost was 1.97 cents, practically 2 cents. Thus German sugar has half a cent a pound advantage over Cuban for the European market, besides having a much less cost of transportation. A little over $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent of this is due to the export bounty. Clearly under these conditions Cuban competition in Europe is impossible. In the American market, however, the facts are somewhat different. Cuban sugar can be put in bond in New York for 2.07 cents a pound. Adding $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent. for freight to the free-on-board price of 1.8 cents at Hamburg, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent for the extra offsetting bounty duty which it has to pay on entering this country, makes the German sugar cost 2.3 cents, or .23 of a cent more than the Cuban.

German sugar has touched as low as 1.37 cents a pound, free-on-board in Hamburg, but this is admittedly a losing price, and cannot be taken as a basis of estimate for continuous business. On the basis of the average price of 1901, to put German sugar down in New York costs about .23 of a cent a pound more than Cuban. This puts Cuba in close competition in the American market with the German producers.

Clearly, therefore, a bounty of half a cent a pound on Cuban sugar would give Cuba nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent a pound advantage over Germany in the American market. That would give Cuba an advantage on this year's crop of from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000, and would

place her on a practical equality with the domestic producers. That is to say, $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent a pound bounty on Cuban sugar would put Cuban planters on an equality in the American market with the American producers, and give her $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent a pound advantage over German producers. It would seem to any reasonable person who had any regard for American industries that this is all that could be expected of the United States; and it is fair to say that it is all that the Cubans, if left to themselves, would expect or would ask. It requires some defect in the mental machinery to imagine that the United States will so arrange its tariff policy as to give foreign producers a distinct advantage over American producers. Idiocy would be the proper name for such a policy. It is clear that the legitimate Cuban interests would be fully and even generously cared for by $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent a pound bounty.

What are the claims of the other group, the American investors in the Cuban sugar industry? In the hearing before the ways and means committee, the interests of this group were represented by Mr. Edwin F. Atkins, of Boston. He insisted that the duty on Cuban sugar should be abolished altogether. He enumerated the world product and said it was greater than the demand, adding that:

"European countries had met this by bounties, so that the German producer, by means of a bounty, was able to sell sugar at half a cent a pound below its cost of production."

Just what he meant by this is not clear. If he meant half a cent a pound below its own cost, the statement is not correct. The bounty on German sugar testing not less than 90 per cent. is 2.40 marks per 100 kilograms, which is the equivalent of .26 of a cent per pound, so that at most the bounty could only enable the producers to lower the price $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent, and under no circumstances $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent. If he meant half a cent

lower than the cost of production for the purpose of competition in the American market, the statement is still further from the truth, because in the American market the bounty has no influence whatever, as it is neutralized by a corresponding increase of duty. It only affects the selling price in Europe where Cuban sugar cannot go.

So far, therefore, as competing with Cuban sugar is concerned, the German bounty exercises no influence whatever, and to present it to the ways and means committee is to so juggle with the facts as to make them lie.

In reply to a question of Chairman Payne, Mr. Atkins told the committee that "a very large percentage of the Cuban sugar industry was owned by citizens of the United States." These were the interests for which Mr. Atkins pleaded for free sugar. Now on what grounds of public policy should the United States protect American investors in foreign countries? Nothing could be more against a sound American policy. If the protective tariff is of any value whatever to the nation, it is to encourage capital to invest in the development of industry in the United States, not to encourage capital to invest in foreign countries and bring the products to this country in competition with our domestic products. This is exactly what should be prevented. If there is any application of the tariff which should make this impossible, it should be made to the fullest extent. How charming!—to encourage a state of affairs in which American capitalists, sugar refiners, and what not, could go to Cuba or any other foreign country and use the equivalent of slave labor and be exempt from duty in the United States, against competition of other civilized countries. This would be using the tariff to drive capital away from the United States, and encourage the use of the lowest and cheapest labor in the

world in preference to employing American labor or the use of the most modern methods in Christendom.

Mr. Atkins ought to be non-suited on his own presentation of the case. He represents the downward movement of industry; he would give systematic aid to capital in deserting the United States for semi-civilized countries, and give employment to the lowest and cheapest labor in the world, in preference to American labor. Economically nothing could be more scandalous. The party and administration which should favor such a policy would deserve to be turned out of power at the first opportunity the people have to vote. There is good ground for extending sympathy and even some economic aid to Cuba, but there is absolutely none for helping the cheap labor, pinchbeck policy of Mr. Atkins and the American refiners. That would simply be offering capital a money premium from the United States treasury to desert American industry and employ the semi-slave labor of half-civilized countries to supply the American market.

Such a policy would convert the tariff into a deadly weapon for the destruction of American industry and the depression of American labor. If these capitalists want protection or special privileges in the sugar market from the United States, they must invest their capital and conduct the industry in this country, employ American labor and pay American wages. When American capital goes to a foreign country in pursuit of cheap labor, it loses all claim to protection or privilege in the American market. Protection is not for capital *per se*, but for American industry. It is for capital and labor employed in the development of industry in this country, but not for any other capital or labor employed in any other country.

This pleading of Mr. Atkins, as representing the sugar trusts and American capitalists in Cuba, removes

the mask from the free sugar propaganda; it clearly shows that this demand is really made, not by the Cubans, but by the American capitalists, who hope to use the cheap labor of Cuba to destroy the domestic beet sugar industry, and get a practical monopoly of the American market. As already pointed out, the Cubans, who are genuinely interested in Cuba and Cuban industries, are only in the free sugar scheme by coercion. They would be entirely satisfied with half a cent a pound bounty on sugar. That much might safely be granted without injury to the domestic industry. If they would separate themselves from the Atkins sugar trust, whose only object is to gobble up their industry, and frankly ask for what they really need, they ought to and probably would get it. But, if they persist in the demand for free sugar, the chief purpose of which is to destroy the American beet sugar industry, they ought to be turned down altogether, as they probably will be.

Much is being made of the generous expressions of the president in his message, and Secretary Root and Governor-General Wood in their reports, but it should be remembered that these are only expressions of the spirit and attitude of the administration towards Cuba in general, showing an entire willingness to help wherever it is feasible. But this does not mean that the president and the administration are willing, under any circumstances, to favor a proposition which will injure, much less destroy, an important and thriving American industry.

This is nearly the first opportunity that congress has had distinctively to stand by protection for the development and diversification of agricultural industries. If it fails, the farmers of the country will be justified in believing that the republican talk about protection to agriculture is mere politics, and they may be trusted

to act accordingly when the day of reckoning comes. if protection is to be a national policy, it should be applied to all industries that have an economic claim to protection. But if it is to be applied only to manufacturing industries, and to be jerked around in order to give large corporations a monopoly of the American market for the products of cheap foreign labor employed under half-civilized conditions, better have no protection at all. In fact, it would be altogether better to put all sugar on the free list than to give exclusive free sugar to Cuba. If sugar were put on the free list, the people would at least get the benefit of the lower price, and if American capital wanted to employ cheap Cuban labor they would at least have to compete with the products of other civilized countries under equal conditions in the American market. To be sure, the American industry would be destroyed, but we should not be giving a premium for American capital to use semi-slave labor.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AND CITIZENSHIP

EDWARD EMORY HILL

That popular education is essential to the perpetuity of a democratic form of government seems to have been accepted by the American people as an established truth. The rapid multiplication of elementary schools, the establishment of free high schools and academies in almost every city and village throughout a great portion of the country, and of state normal schools, colleges and universities in nearly every commonwealth, the setting aside of vast tracts of the public domain, and the appropriation annually of nearly \$200,000,000 of public funds to maintain and improve this great system of free education, the passage of compulsory education laws and the appointment of officers to see that these laws are enforced,—all this is excused and justified on the ground that without free schools universal education would be impossible, and that without the means of universal education the days of democratic institutions would be numbered.

What, then, have our public schools done toward building up good citizenship? And are they powerless, as has been declared by their enemies, to render any aid against the rising tide of political corruption that menaces the liberties of a free people?

Some time ago a hostile critic of the public school, in discussing the question, "The Problems of Democracy," ably maintained that the chief problem of a democratic state is "to impress upon its individual members the importance of self-support and self-control." If this statement is accepted as true, then it follows that the public school of this country merits from Mr. Franklin Smith and his class not pessimistic

abuse, but unstinted praise; for, whatever its shortcomings may be in other ways, it can be easily shown that the common school has always fostered the virtue of self-control, and greatly helped those who have come within the radius of its influence to be self-supporting.

In general, it is safe to judge the character of a community by the amount of crime that is recorded against it and the strength of the police force that is required to keep it in order. That the effect of widespread education is to reduce the amount of crime and diminish the number of criminals is no longer a subject for debate.

The words of Horace Mann, written many years ago, that "the effect of a sound education of the people must, not accidentally but necessarily, not occasionally but always, be to repress the commission of crime," are now verified by a mass of statistics collected in both Europe and the United States. The figures published by Commissioner Harris in the second volume of his report for 1900 show conclusively that every advance in popular education has been followed by a corresponding falling off of crime. From these figures it appears that the illiterate portion of the population furnishes from six to eight times its proportion of criminals.

There is no country where individual rights are more respected and where property and life are more secure than in the United States. Yet we have, relatively, the least imposing police force and the smallest standing army to be found in any nation throughout the civilized world. Open lawlessness abounds conspicuously only in those sections where the common school has not yet found its way, or in great cities having a large foreign population among whom it has not had a chance to do its work. "Whichever way we turn," says Samuel T. Dutton, in his "Social Phases of

Education," "we have to face one sublime fact: these United States, with all the dangers to which they have been exposed, resulting from rapid growth, immigration and intemperance, have severally and unitedly evinced a strength and stability that have excited the world's admiration; and this phenomenon can be explained only in the intelligence of the people through the common school."

Not less important is the service that has been rendered by the common school to our industrial life. "Lack of opportunity and ignorance" said Francis A. Walker, "are among the chief causes, set down by those who have carefully investigated the subject, for pauperism . . . Its cure, on the other hand, lies in the working classes demanding for their children a thorough education, general, technical and political, which will qualify them more readily to meet the exigencies of varying and fluctuating production."

Why is it that the percentage of pauperism in the United States is relatively so small? Why is it that she is to-day outstripping the rest of the world in the industrial race? The answer most frequently given to the last question is that it is because of her extensive use of machinery and the superior intelligence of her workmen. But where did this superior intelligence come from? Of what is it the product, if not of the common schools? Thrift, industry, and economy have always followed in the path of popular education. Wherever the common school has gone pauperism has skulked away. The capacity for self-support, stated in different terms, is the ability to render service to others. A man's wages, provided he gets them honestly, is the measure of his usefulness to society. The difference between the wages that a person earns when he is educated and the wages that he would earn if he were not educated is a gain to the community in which he lives

that must be credited to increased intelligence. If it were possible to compute the sum which represents the increased earnings of hundreds of thousands of men and women in this country engaged in every occupation and profession who are chiefly indebted to the public schools for their larger opportunities for usefulness, we would be able to state approximately the service that the public schools have rendered to our industrial life.

In the vast sums of money that must otherwise have been expended on police systems and standing armies for the maintenance of prisons and almshouses, and in the rapidly accumulating wealth of the nation, its common schools have paid for themselves and are paying for themselves many times over. In thus impressing upon the individual members of the community the importance of self-support and self-control, they have done much towards helping to solve what Mr. Smith regards as the most important problem of democracy.

But the public school has done more than this in the way of building up good citizenship in a democratic state. It has nursed and fostered, as no other institution in this land, a democratic spirit. The soul of democracy is a common recognition of the equal rights of all. In the public school, the children of all classes, of the rich and the poor, of the cultured and the illiterate, of the native-born and the foreign-born, of those with color and those without color, all meet, for the time being, on the same plane. Here no aristocracy is recognized but the aristocracy of intellect and character. Here all have the same rights and the rights of all are equally respected. Moreover, the democratic sentiment thus cultivated in the common schools is carried up into the colleges and universities.

The free school has enabled boys and girls coming from homes of poverty and sometimes of ignorance and

even vice to compete with the sons and daughters of the well-to-do and cultured in our higher institutions of learning, and through these institutions to enter every profession and to fill creditably every honorable position in American life. In thus bringing together young folks from all classes of society, in laying upon them common tasks and common responsibilities, in placing before them common ideals and inspiring them with common ambitions, and in opening up to them, to an extent, at least, equal opportunities, the public school is rendering one of its greatest services, perhaps its greatest service, to the republic.

Placing all this, however, to the credit of the common school, it must still be conceded that it has not accomplished all that they who labored for its establishment fondly believed that it would accomplish. It has failed, as we have seen, to banish ignorance and dishonesty from high places in the political realm. It has failed, too, to send out a body of young men and women with any just appreciation of their obligations to the state and adequate knowledge of the way to perform their duties as citizens. While it has done much in cultivating those passive virtues of citizenship, the power of self-control and the ability to support oneself, it has accomplished almost nothing in the direction of turning out intelligent and conscientious voters. While it has rendered invaluable service in fostering a truly democratic sentiment, it has failed almost completely to direct that sentiment into a healthy political activity. This failure on the part of the public school is recognized even by its best friends, and the question is being put very seriously and persistently: "Is it possible for the public school to do something more toward training up a body of honest, virtuous citizens inspired by sufficient loyalty and equipped with sufficient knowledge to snatch the reins of power from corrupt and inefficient

hands." Strips of bunting flying from flagstaffs planted on school buildings will not do it, admirable as that notion is. Occasional orations commemorating the birthdays of national heroes or in honor of the soldier-dead make but little impression, much as they should appeal to our sense of patriotism. The old-fashioned patriotic reader seems to have had some influence in this way, but that was long since banished from the schoolroom as old-fogyish.

But, in answer to this question, two important movements, which seem to have in them considerable of promise, are beginning to stir the life of the school-world. These movements recognize as fundamental the principles laid down by Aristotle, that "every nation which expects to endure must see to it that its people are educated in accordance with its polity." They recognize that what would be a suitable education for citizenship in a despotism, like Russia, is by no means an adequate training for citizenship in a republic, like the United States; that a citizen in a democracy ought to be something more than a self-supporting, law-abiding member of the community; that he must also take an active, intelligent and conscientious interest in public affairs.

The first of these movements is a widespread effort to place the organization and government of schools on a more democratic basis. The reign of the ferrule and the rod, in the strong hand of the master, is about over. The wise and conscientious instructor is striving more and more by milder forms of persuasion, by appealing to the reason and the conscience, to enlist the sympathy and the interest of his students on the side of good order, and to secure their unconscious cooperation in seeking to promote the general welfare of the school. In this way he hopes to prepare them for those larger

duties of citizenship that lie outside of the school world.

The many attempts at so-called student government that have attracted considerable attention during recent years are the more radical outbreaks of this same spirit. The active promoters of this form of school government are likely to be the victims of misunderstanding, if not of open persecution, and need to have in them a good deal of such stuff as martyrs are made of. They are apt to be condemned as being visionary or incompetent, trying to shift a part of the work they are paid to do upon the young and inexperienced backs of their pupils. If something of that mechanical order and discipline that marks the sway of a strong-willed autocrat is sacrificed for a larger responsible freedom on the part of the student, the cry will be raised that self-government means no government and Solomon's proverb will be drafted into active service.

But it is better for the young back to bear responsibilities than stripes, and the success of these attempts at student-government must be judged, ultimately, by the character and the spirit of the pupils themselves, and not by comparison with showy mark-time methods that too frequently are made to serve as the chief advertisement of "an efficient school administration." Weak and inexperienced teachers, it is true, will sometimes try to hide their incompetence behind a pretence of self-government, thus giving cause for just complaint. Many premature displays of democracy in school government will flash up to blaze brilliantly for a time and then die out. But the spirit that kindled them, the desire to form in the character of young Americans that power of self-control and the habit of active interest in the common welfare, smoldering under forms and traditions, will live and spread till it

warms the whole common school system with its democratic life.

Another movement in the school world that promises to develop a more active type of good citizenship is a more general introduction into the school curriculum of those studies that deal directly with social and political life. Progress along this line has been slow, to be sure. The percentage of schools that have given to them any place at all in their programs is not large, and the significance attached to them in the programs where they have found a place has been too small. The teaching of these subjects, too, has been, as a rule, far from satisfactory, owing to a want of interest and training on the part of instructors to whom they have been assigned. There are many, indeed, who seem to share with President Hadley, of Yale, the view that formal instruction in political science and political economy in the common schools can do little good and may result in positive harm. "It must constantly be borne in mind," is President Hadley's statement, "that the training of the free citizen is not so much a development of certain lines of knowledge as the development of certain essential qualities of character and habits of action. Courage, discipline and loftiness of purpose are the things really necessary for maintaining a free government. If a citizen possesses these qualities of character he will acquire the knowledge which is essential to the conduct of the country's institutions and to the reform of abuses that may arise. If he does not possess these qualities, his political learning and that of his follow-men will not save the state from destruction."

On the other hand, it is possible to marshal a long list of names of illustrious statesmen and educators from Milton's time down to our own who have warmly

advocated the study in public and private schools of subjects pertaining to politics.

"Every man," Milton is quoted by Dr. Edwin Mead as saying, "should be a student of politics that he may be a true pillar of the state. He should have in the school such a training in politics, be given such political principles and ideals, that in such great exigencies as that through which England is passing he may not be an unreliable shaken reed—a man without political conscience; but a man whose insight and whose will may be relied upon." Dr. Mead then adds as his own opinion, that "when we talk about the proper education for this democracy it seems to me that this is the place where we should especially lay the stress. Whatever else we make in our schools we must, above all, make good citizens." "We need only to look about us to see ample evidence that our society, political, social, economic and industrial, is suffering from a thousand and one defects which would be remedied if our sense of civic duty were quicker and our knowledge of civic relations more ample and thorough," is the testimony of Prof. Edmund J. James on this point.

All will agree with President Hadley that "courage, discipline and loftiness of purpose are essential qualities of character that must be possessed by our people, and without which nothing can save the state from destruction." These are, indeed, the very qualities that have built up our nation and preserved it for more than a century. It is not the want of these qualities, however, that is the fault of the American people to-day. It is rather, as Prof. James has indicated, the fact that the sense of our civic duty is dulled and our knowledge of civic relations is insufficient. Our education along these lines has not kept pace with the growth of the country and the development of society.

Jacob Riis, who has had considerable experience

in trying to reform certain social abuses, makes clear this same truth when he declares that "the best way, and, indeed, the only way, that is always open of bringing on a reform is to make the facts of the wrong plain." It is not indifference to justice, but ignorance of injustice, that paralyzes American citizenship. And our whole experience as a nation proclaims President Hadley wrong when he assumes that because a man possesses the virtues of courage, discipline and loftiness of purpose, he will therefore acquire "the knowledge which is essential to the conduct of the country's institutions and the reform of the abuses that may arise," unless, indeed, he lays unusual emphasis on the phrase "loftiness of purpose." Thousands of men and women who possess these qualities in a high degree, as the terms are ordinarily understood, and who have had all the advantages of the schools, are our very poorest citizens, because they have no sense of civic duty and no adequate knowledge of civic relations.

To awaken this sense of civic duty and to give it intelligent direction is the reason for introducing into the public schools those studies that deal directly with the political, industrial and social relations of the members of a community; nor will anything be sacrificed in the way of a general training because of the introduction of these studies into the school-program. They have a disciplinary value as well as a practical value.

"Political economy," says Prof. Patten, "thus joins in one body a group of characteristics that make it of great utility to the student. It cultivates both observation and reflection. It gives to him the discipline and logical training of mathematics, the culture of history and the inductive work of the physical sciences. It brings his imagination into activity and arouses his sympathy for those who suffer from the

evils of society. It also creates an interest and enthusiasm for the study of social problems through which he is spurred on to seek a solution for the many perplexing difficulties that beset human progress." About the same can be said with equal truth of the value of the other political and social sciences as school studies.

These two movements in the school world—an attempt to organize the government of the school on a basis more in harmony with democratic ideals and the introduction into the program of school subjects the study of social and political sciences, will do much, it is believed, to supplement the good work that the common school has already accomplished in impressing upon young men and young women the importance of being self-supporting, law-abiding citizens, by training them also to take an active, intelligent and conscientious interest in all affairs pertaining to society and the state.

LABOR LAWS IN EUROPE

HENRY W. WILBUR

In nearly every country in Europe the law has been invoked to some extent to regulate the employment of labor, and especially in the direction of restricting the labor of women and children.

England stands at the head of the family of nations, both in the quality and the quantity of its labor legislation, although Switzerland is a close second.

The history of labor legislation in Switzerland is more suggestive for the United States than that of any other country. Previous to the adoption of the constitution of 1874 the power to enact labor laws was invested in the cantons. With the exception of obligatory school attendance, the laws of the cantons were bewildering in their dissimilarity. In some there was strict regulation, in others no regulation or restriction whatever, and complaints were loud from the restricted cantons to the effect that they were handicapped by the cantons where no labor laws were in force. It thus came about that in 1877 the general factory act of Switzerland was adopted, and it was amended as now in force in 1881. The cantons may still legislate regarding labor, but their laws must not conflict with the federal statute. A similar course, by constitutional amendment, might remove many irregularities and incongruities in the labor laws in our country.

Austria began the work of labor legislation with an order issued by the emperor in 1786. The empire has made little progress in this matter, however, in the century and more since that time.

It is interesting to note that autocratic Russia seems to have kept pretty even pace with the most progres-

sive labor legislation. This simply illustrates the fact that under the rule of a humane despot the protection of the people from industrial outrage at the hands of heartless employers may be as pronounced as in nations where popular government prevails. But a despot of a purely tyrannical type will not trouble himself about such an altruistic matter as the physical, intellectual and moral well-being of his subjects. This finds its illustration in the other fact that the "sick man" in Turkey has made no statutes regarding labor. In that land of intellectual and moral submergence the toilers have no interests which concern the despot.

The other European nations whose labor legislation is represented by zero are Spain, Portugal, Greece and Roumania, all countries confessedly in the backward, if not the declining, class.

As a matter of course, the labor laws in Poland, Hungary and Finland are such as prevail in the nations of Russia, Austria and Germany, which really dictate the governmental policies of the first-named countries.

Italy, from whose domain we get a large and increasing immigration, has confined her legislation to the matter of child labor. Even at that she puts the yoke of wage service upon her juveniles of nine years and upwards.

The states of the American union, where an intense feeling of prejudice against legislation restricting or regulating labor prevails, may read the exhibit from Europe with possible shame, and we hope with profit. States which send their little tots to the factories by lamp light, which consign them to long hours of poorly requited toil, which make no provision for the education of these children that they may lead freer and happier lives, belong in the same class with effete Spain and semi-barbarous Roumania, and are far be-

hind the land of the czar or industrially unprogressive Italy.

Below will be found abstracts of certain labor laws in various European countries, classified by given subjects. All the labor laws of these countries are not mentioned, nor are the details recited, the purpose being to convey definite information in the most concise and least tedious form.*

Great Britain

Employment of Children.—The regulations vary in different industries. In textile factories the half-day system prevails. Children may be employed either in the morning or afternoon, five hours being the time limit for each period. There are various details regarding dinner hours and against successive morning or afternoon periods. In non-textile industries employment may be for half days or alternate whole days. The law defines a child as a person under 14 years of age. Children under 11 years cannot be employed in factories or workshops under any circumstances.

Relating to Women.—In workshops where no children or young persons are employed, the work-day must not exceed 12 hours, with an interval of not less than 1½ hours for meals.

In non-textile factories the work period for women and young persons must be between 6 A. M. and 6 P. M. or from 7 A. M. and 7 P. M., with not less than 2 hours for meals, one of which must be before 3 P. M. A young person is one 14 years of age and under 18.

Educational Restriction for Children.—A child under 13 can only be employed in a factory or workshop after he has complied with the conditions totally or partially

*The compilation is made from the "Report of the Industrial Commission on the Condition of Foreign Legislation upon Matters Affecting General Labor," issued in 1901. The commission was appointed by act of congress approved June 18, 1899.

exempting him from attending school. A child under 13 who has fulfilled these conditions, or one between 13 and 14 who has not received a school certificate, must attend school one period each work-day.

Payment of Wages.—Wages must be paid in the current coin of the realm, or, if agreed, in bank notes or checks payable on demand. By mutual agreement advances may be made for certain specified purposes.

Liabilities of Employers.—The Chamberlain act of 1897 practically amounts to an accident insurance of workmen by their employers. Under this act every employer must pay compensation to any workman who suffers personal injury in the course of his employment, except when the injury may be caused by the serious or wilful misconduct of the workman.

Germany

Employment of Children.—Employment of children under 13 in industrial establishments is prohibited. Between the ages of 13 and 14 children cannot be employed more than 6 hours each day, and between 14 and 16 not more than 10 hours a day.

Relating to Women.—Women over 16 may not be employed over 11 hours per day, nor more than 10 hours on the days preceding Sundays and holidays. They must be allowed one hour's rest in the middle of the day.

Educational Restriction for Children.—Children cannot be employed in factories until they have complied with the local requirements for school attendance. All employees under 18 must be allowed to attend "finishing" schools, and any commune may make such attendance compulsory.

Payment of Wages.—Payment must be made in the money of the empire, and in cash. Food may be fur-

nished by employers at actual cost, and dwellings at the customary rental.

France

Employment of Children.—The employment of children under 12 is prohibited in workshops, factories, mines, etc. Any child under 16 may be examined for the purpose of determining whether the work required is too great for its strength.

Relating to Women.—No person under 18 and no woman can be employed between the hours of 9 P. M. and 5 A. M., although an exception is made which allows the government to designate industries in which women may be employed until 11 at night, but not for more than 60 days during the year, and never for more than 12 hours per day. Exemptions may also be made for night work in designated industries, but in such cases the work shall not exceed 7 hours out of the 24.

Educational Restriction for Children.—No child under 13 who is not furnished with a certificate of education or a certificate of physical fitness from a physician is allowed to labor in any establishment. The certificate of primary education is furnished gratuitously by the mayor to the parents or guardians of the children.

Russia

Employment of Children.—Children under 12 may not be employed in any industrial establishment. Between the ages of 12 and 15 children may be employed 6 hours out of 24, but not more than 4 hours continuous labor can be exacted at any time. The ministers of finance are directed to designate the kind of labor dangerous to the health of children under 15 years of age, to whom such work is prohibited.

Relating to Women.—The only restriction upon the employment of persons from 15 to 17, or women of any age, relates to night work. Such persons cannot be

employed in textile and other industries between 9 P. M. and 5 A. M.

Educational Restriction for Children.—Such persons employed in factories and workshops must attend school 3 hours per day or 18 hours each week.

Payment of Wages.—Laborers must receive their wages at least once a month.

Austria

Employment of Children.—Regular employment of children under 12 is prohibited. In factories no children under 12 can be regularly employed. Minors under 18 must be allowed to attend evening industrial schools and Sunday schools. The work-day shall not exceed 11 hours.

Payment of Wages.—Payment must be made in cash, except by previous arrangement money due by the laborer for rent, medicine, fuel, etc., may be deducted by the employer from wages.

Italy

Employment of Children.—The employment of minors under 9 is absolutely prohibited. Between 9 and 12 they must not be employed more than 8 hours per day. When the work period exceeds 6 hours it must be broken by a rest time for meals. Night work by children under 12 is prohibited.

Switzerland

Employment of Children.—Children under 14 must not be employed in factories. For children from 14 to 16 the time reserved for their scholastic and religious instruction and that of their work in factories together must not exceed 11 hours per day, and their scholastic and religious instruction must not be sacrificed to their employment in factories. The federal council has author-

ity to designate the branches of industry in which the employment of children may be absolutely prohibited.

Relating to Women.—Women must not be employed on Sunday or at night, nor can they be employed cleaning engines in motion or dangerous machinery.

Payment of Wages.—Payment must be made every 15 days in cash, legal tender money. Special agreement between employers and employees may provide for monthly settlement of wages.

The federal statute contains elaborate provisions as to sanitary and other conditions in factories, and lays down rules for their construction. Any place where more than 5 persons are employed is subject to the factory act.

Belgium

Employment of Children.—There is absolute prohibition of all employment of children under 12 years. Over that age the king may promulgate decrees restricting their employment in particular industries. Boys under 16 and girls under 21 must not be employed more than 12 hours a day. Under royal decree a large number of restrictions are enforced.

Relating to Women.—There are no restrictions regarding females under 21, or males under 18.

Payment of Wages.—Wages not in excess of 5 francs a day must be paid at least once a month. In piece work partial or final adjustment of wages due must be made at least monthly. Payment of wages must be made in coin or legal current notes.

Norway

Employment of Children.—Young persons from 14 to 18 may not be employed more than 10 hours per day. Such minors must not work before 6 A. M. or after 8 P. M. There is a somewhat contradictory exception to this rule, which provides that young persons may be

employed day or night in establishments where the nature of the work requires it, but not more than 10 hours in succession. Children under 12 may not be employed in any factory or industrial establishment. Children between 12 and 18 may be employed upon a physician's certificate, but not more than 6 hours per day and at light tasks not injurious to health.

Educational Restriction for Children.—Minors who have not complied with the school requirements may not be employed during school hours.

Payment of Wages.—Payment must be made once a week. Deductions from wages can only be made when agreed to by employees, or in accordance with factory regulations.

Sweden

In most respects the labor laws of Sweden are similar to those of Norway. Boys from 14 to 18 are not allowed to work in mines more than 12 hours per day.

Holland

Employment of Children.—The labor rules of Holland promulgated by royal order are quite stringent. Children under 12 may not be employed in work shops or factories. No child may work before 5 A. M. or after 7 P. M., and not more than 11 hours per day. Children may not be employed at all on Sunday. The employment of children in certain specified dangerous industries is prohibited.

Relating to Women.—The prohibitions regarding certain dangerous industries apply to women as well as children, and the same hours of labor must be observed for both classes. A list of women and children employed in each factory must be posted in the establishment. Sunday employment is prohibited except in dairies.

Denmark

Employment of Children.—Young persons of both sexes between 14 and 18 must not labor more than 12 hours daily, and the employment of children under 10 years of age is prohibited. Children between 10 and 12 must not work more than 6½ hours a day. Children are not to be employed at night, on Sundays or church holidays.

Relating to Women.—Women and children must be kept apart from adult male workers during work hours and rest intervals.

Educational Restriction for Children.—Such school attendance as is required by law must be complied with before children can be employed.

A WORD ON BRITISH INDUSTRIES AND LABOR

Much attention is being called to the declining efficiency of British industries. Railroads are among the most conspicuous examples of this undeniable tendency. In a recent number of the London *Economist* appeared a significant letter showing some of the contrasts between English and American railway methods. The following are specimens:

“That the dry bones of railway management are beginning to rustle is evident, for did not the chairman of the Great Eastern Railway Company say at their meeting the other week that they hope to be able to make some economies in the goods department, and with that object they were now experimenting with one 30-ton goods wagon, such as is used in America. This freight car, as it is called there, has been in existence, and indeed no smaller cars have been built in America, since 1876. Many have been built to hold as much as 50 tons, but the great majority of American freight cars are not constructed to carry more than 30 tons.

“How rapidly then do railway improvements take hold in this country! The approved American car of 1876 is being experimented upon by the most go-ahead English railways in 1891—a quarter of a century after its adoption almost universally in the states.”

Figures are given showing the rate charges, earnings, expenses, etc., of the Pennsylvania railroad and the London & Northwestern, and the writer of the letter says in comment:

“From the above it will be seen that the American railway spends about 28 per cent. of its receipts in maintenance of way and equipment, the English line only about 14 per cent., but the transportation charges

in America cost 7 per cent. less of their earnings than the Northwestern. The total expenses are almost exactly alike in percentage, $65\frac{1}{2}$, and the percentage of net earnings are in both cases about $34\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The average rate for freight, which includes goods, merchandise, and minerals, was on the American line a little over a farthing per ton per mile, of which about 33 per cent. is net profit. The railway companies in this country do not show in their reports the average rate charged by them; but looking over a long list of coal rates they appear to work out at over 1d. per ton per mile, and the rates for goods from 2d. to 4d. per ton per mile, out of which the English railway seems only to derive the same percentage of profit, which clearly shows that the methods at present employed by the English lines are far behind in economy of working the plans on which the American companies work their traffic.

"Besides paying better wages to their *employés*, giving a higher dividend to their shareholders (6 per cent. in America, as against the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the Northwestern), the American company has a credit at profit and loss account of £4,497,061, or about 25 per cent. of a year's gross earnings, or more than enough to pay 15 per cent. on their capital."

The net receipts of British railroads for 1901 were £1,518,040 less than in 1899, and the percentage of net receipts to total paid-up capital invested was only 3.41, as compared with 4.10 ten years ago. More than £80,000,000 of railway capital last year paid no dividends at all.

It is shown also by Col. M R. Jefferds in the London *Financial News* that from 1870 to 1890 the New York Central railroad reduced its working expenses per ton mile by more than 52 per cent., while wages were increasing, and since 1890 by 40 per cent., while

the English companies have made practically no reduction in the thirty years. The cost, for instance, of moving a ton of freight one mile on the London & Northwestern road is 1.38 cents as against .235 of a cent on the New York Central, and only .485 of a cent on the Great Northern road, which runs through the thinly settled northwest. The New York Central freight charge per ton mile in 1870 was 1.88 cents, and in 1900 only .76 of a cent. In other words, the rate to the public on the New York Central is only about half the cost to the English company moving a ton one mile. The rate charged on the London and Northwestern in 1900 was 2.34 cents per ton per mile. Inasmuch as the wages are much higher on the American roads, the comparative charges and expenses are a significant commentary on the difference in effectiveness of management. This condition is duplicated to greater or less extent in a very large number of English manufacturing industries.

There are many morals to a tale of this kind, but the present purpose is to suggest only one. It ill becomes English manufacturers and theoretical economists to charge upon trade unions a decline which is so obviously the result of antiquated industrial management. The trade-union movement is almost as thoroughly established in the United States as in England, yet we are outstripping or overtaking England at nearly every point. The trouble is in the failure of English manufacturers and industrial managers to keep up with the march of economic progress. No sympathy need be wasted on their complaints of trade-union hampering until British capitalists can do something better to justify their own economic function in the community.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE PEOPLE of New York city want a reasonable excise law, one that can be enforced without creating political revulsion. Governor Odell appears not to have either the public spirit, moral courage or even political sagacity to cooperate with the reform administration for this purpose. He does not dare use his power as governor to compel the enforcement of the present law for fear of losing popularity. He does not dare favor a more liberal law for fear of offending the up-state Sabbatarians, and he does not dare favor local option for fear it might impair his delegate-getting prospects, which he is now so industriously cultivating. Of such stuff are governors made! He who would save his political life by such means deserves to lose it.

IT IS HIGHLY interesting to note the eagerness with which European powers are struggling for the credit of having prevented a European concert against this country in the Spanish war. Why are countries, the press of which fairly sputtered with malignant insult to America and Americans, so anxious to be credited with having befriended us? Is it because poor Spain was beaten, and, cowardlike, they want to curry favor with the victor, or is it their jealousy of England's friendship with the United States? All that is necessary in the matter is simply to compare the tone of the English press and continental press at the time. No amount of fawning pretension will obliterate the fact that there came very near being a public movement here to boycott French products in this country because of the almost fanatical insulting attitude of the French.

MR. CLEVELAND has come out for the free sugar

claims of Cuba. That ought to help the cause of protection. His advice on that subject has been tried and the calamitous result will not be forgotten by this generation at least. With his usual stilted ponderosity he says: "This subject involves considerations of morality and conscience higher and more commanding than all others;" and what are they, pray? What are the considerations of morality and conscience in national policy that are higher than guarding and promoting the prosperity of the nation? Business prosperity is the very basis of all that is desirable in civilization. He who would sacrifice that for a high-sounding sentiment is a prophet of disaster and a precursor of social immorality. Perhaps the endorsement of Cuban free sugar is the best service Mr. Cleveland could render to beet sugar protection.

MR. BRYAN eloquently discourses on the defeat of Perry Belmont in his recent candidacy for congress. He ascribes the defeat to the indignation of the people because Mr. Belmont was opposed to Bryan in 1896, and only gave faint support in 1900. Really, Mr. Bryan ought to know better than this. Can it be possible that Mr. Bryan does not know what is common knowledge to everybody who has access to a daily paper that Belmont was defeated by Mr. Croker purely for personal reasons; that 16 to 1 and Bryan had no more to do with it than the coronation of Edward VII. It might be all well enough for Mr. Bryan to tell this to the rural farmers of Nebraska, but really, seriously to ask the American people to believe such a nursery story is a reflection on their common every-day observation. Mr. Bryan had better keep in a little closer touch with the facts, or give the American people credit for at least reading the headlines of the daily press.

THE MACON (Ga.) *Telegraph* has reprinted with evident relish the New York *Evening Post's* account of the race riot in Harlem, which it calls "The Race Rows in Yankee Land." Race riots are no less disgraceful in New York city than in South Carolina, Georgia or Alabama. The *Telegraph* makes a mistake in assuming that because it can say to the Yankees, "You're another," that settles the problem. There is this difference, however, in the two cases: when a race riot occurs in New York or New England the press and leaders in public life promptly denounce it, whereas in the South it seems to have their endorsement, or apology. Race riots in this country are a disgrace to the community in which they occur. It should be the policy of our civilization to raise, through education and other social influences, the poorest people above race hatred and persecution, and it should be regarded as a crime against social order for the leaders of society and public opinion to encourage or endorse them.

EVIDENCE is daily increasing that the public mind is getting round to a sane attitude on the Philippine question. The number who believe that taking the Philippines was a blunder, and that the attempt to force American institutions upon the Filipinos will be further bungling, are rapidly increasing. Even President Schurman of Cornell is getting in line on this subject. In a recent address before the Reform Club in Boston, he said:

"The Filipinos are to develop along their own racial lines, not along ours, and it is colossal conceit and impudence to disparage them because they are different from ourselves. Any decent kind of government of the Filipinos by the Filipinos is better than the best possible government of the Filipinos by Americans."

That sounds the true note in the whole situation. For the United States to pretend to impose our form of government or type of society upon the Filipinos is in-

deed "colossal conceit," and the poorest kind of statesmanship. It will not be long before the American people will be heartily sick of the Philippine prize, and will insist that the Filipinos not only be permitted but be urgently invited to govern themselves.

IN AN ARTICLE in the *Outlook* for January 18th, Governor-General Wood pleads for reciprocity with Cuba. He evidently had sent in his article before the sugar trust had coerced the Cuban representatives into line, for he admits that "Cuba cannot expect free sugar." If he had contented himself with this his position would be reasonably tenable, but on the basis of evident misinformation he says:

"It is not a question of whether producers of 175,000 tons of beet sugar, who have declared they do not need protection, are to be definitely protected, or a producer of 275,000 tons of cane sugar. It is a question of whether our intervention in Cuba is to be to her benefit or to her ruin."

With all due respect to General Wood, that is not the question at all. The question for congress to determine is not whether our intervention is going to be a benefit or an injury to Cuba, but whether an American industry shall be destroyed which has already over \$26,000,000 invested, and, at the rate of increase of the last two years, would in ten or a dozen years supply our entire demand for sugar and give employment to nearly 70,000 laborers, pay nearly \$50,000,000 annually in wages, and give profitable investment for nearly \$800,000,000 of capital, and in all probability furnish sugar to the consumer at less than 4 cents a pound.

IN A RECENT editorial on free sugar, the *New York Times* goes the length of predicting and practically recommending the Cubans to create a revolution if they do not get it, and charges the whole thing to Mr. Oxnard personally. It says:

"A people like the Cubans could not be expected to remain peaceful while starving. Riots and civil disorder, there is good reason to believe, would ensue, and that very soon. . . . Has it ever occurred to Mr. Oxnard to ask himself how his mind would be affected by reading news dispatches announcing that our troops had been compelled to turn their arms against the people we delivered from bondage to Spain? Has he ever asked himself what the American people would think and say about such a deplorable incident of our protectorate? What does he suppose the American people would think of him, OXNARD, the author and occasion of that direful necessity?"

This equals the worst things that Herr Most ever said or Emma Goldman ever taught. It would be difficult to put in plainer terms the suggestion and encouragement for Cubans to become riotous banditti than this advice in the form of prediction by the *New York Times*. Of course this will be sent to Havana, reprinted and circulated, and the red-handed element there will have the justification of the *New York Times* and its like in creating political chaos in Cuba. Herr Most has been sent to jail twice for uttering much less incendiary stuff than this. Anarchist literature never pointed more directly to assassination than this editorial does to riot and rebellion in Cuba; and because Mr. Oxnard, whoever he may be, is opposed to putting Cuban sugar on the free list, he is to be made personally responsible for the outbreak which is treasonably recommended. Of course the obvious suggestion from this is that when riots begin in Cuba somebody is to mob Mr. Oxnard. Such reasoning is simply villainous.

WHEN PRESIDENT MCKINLEY was alive his chief contribution to public discussion was on protection. Since his death his name has been chiefly used in the interest of free trade.

The latest in this line is the statement of Mr. A. Foster Higgins to the New York Chamber of Commerce, that when chairman of the committee of ways and means Mr. McKinley (speaking of the tariff) said:

“‘That is all a question of politics.’ ‘All a question of politics! Why, Mr. McKinley, what do you mean? Am I to understand that this great question that we are discussing is a question of politics?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘What do you mean by that?’ ‘We have got to get votes for our bill.’”

To spring a story on the dead which cannot be verified by the living is unmanly. Cowardice is close akin to untruth. That Mr. McKinley was preeminently a shrewd politician none will deny, but that he ever made such a statement to a free trader nobody ought to believe. Yet the *New York Times* makes this discreditable and doubtful statement the basis for declaring that: “There is no more principle in the whole [protection] business than there is in a mock auction or a policy drawing.”

This wholesale charge of dishonesty against all protectionists is like “indicting a whole nation,” which only a fool will attempt. It would be just as easy and about as true to say: Free trade propagandists are English hirelings whose purpose is to disrupt American industry. Nobody ought to be expected to believe such sweeping and silly stuff. No great political movement was ever essentially dishonest, and least of all is this true of the American people regarding protection. Unfortunately for Mr. Higgins and his like, the American people can be trusted to discriminate between the prosperity of 1893-1897 and that of 1898-1901.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

QUESTION BOX

Proposed Bounty on Cuban Sugar

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice you advocate the payment of a bounty on Cuban sugar, on the theory that this would not injure our home industry. But is it not admitted that a reduction of tariff, on Cuban sugar only, would not affect the price until the Cubans could drive the German sugar out of our market, by greatly increasing their own production? All that the Cubans need in order to do this is encouragement for their own industry, and I cannot see what would be the difference between the encouragement of a half cent reduction in duty and a half cent bounty. With either they could in five years supply practically all our demand, and leave our beet sugar industry high and dry.

P. R. G.

The effect of a bounty, rebate, or reduction of duty, would be substantially the same if there were no intercepting influences. A reduction of half a cent a pound duty on Cuban sugar would go directly to the importer, nor is it at all sure that this would be reflected through the price back to the planter. A rebate of half a cent a pound would be substantially the same thing, as that too would go directly to the importer who took it out of bond. As a very large majority of the planters in Cuba are poor people, cultivating a few acres

only, they are subject to the same kind of "sharper" exploitation as the poor, small farmers in the South and West, who have to sell their crops long in advance of harvesting, to live and raise the crop. Through the exorbitant interest charged, and the blood-letting low price paid, these people would get little or none of the benefit of the reduced tariff or rebate. The large planters who make these advances to them, or the sugar trust people in this country, or the commission brokers, would get it. Under the bounty system they could not intercept the half a cent a pound, because that would be paid directly to the planter, as was the bounty under the McKinley act. But even a part of that might be anticipated and squeezed from the poor planter in advance, but the squeezing process is more difficult with the bounty than with the rebate or reduction of duty.

This concession to Cuba is not an economic proposition at all. It is a case of giving philanthropic or paternal aid, and it should be given the most definite paternal character. In order to help Cuba to reestablish her industries the United States is willing to make her a present of half a cent a pound for all the sugar she raises for the next five years, which will probably amount to from fifty to seventy-five million dollars. It is not an economic bargain but a charitable contribution, and as such it should come, not out of any one industry, but out of the treasury of the United States, and it should not go to the Cubans through speculators and usurious money lenders, or exploiting refiners, but should go directly to the needy planters for whom it is intended.

The Case of the Boers

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: In denouncing the Boers as criminals for offering any further resistance, do you not overlook the

fact that with them there is a principle of nationality at stake, just as much as there was with our own forefathers at the time of the revolution? The Boers are not and have not been in any more desperate condition, yet, than the Americans were in the year or two of Valley Forge times. Our war lasted eight years, while this has continued only a little over two. During practically all the revolutionary war our national capital, New York, was in the enemy's hands, and most of our other large cities and seaports; and Washington's efforts were quite as much guerrilla sallies intended to wear out the enemy as the present resistance of Botha and De Wet. Moreover, while the Boers have not as many people as we had at the time of the revolution, the density of population in proportion to the area of the country is considerably greater, and they have had an independent government of their own for many years. They are not breaking away to set up a new government by revolution, but are simply fighting to preserve the nationality they already had. D. W. J.

Oh, no, the case of the Boers is not comparable to that of the Americans in the revolution. The methods of warfare, the equipment, the whole conditions in 1902 are radically different from 1776. Nor are the objects of the wars the same. The Americans were struggling for the right of democratic or representative government. The Boers opened war on the British to prevent democratic representative government in South Africa. They are not struggling, nor have they been at any time, for greater democracy or greater political freedom, but they opened war to perpetuate an undemocratic and really oppressive race despotism.

But it was not the objects of the war for which we criticized the Boers, but for their attitude in continuing the devastating policy when the possibility of victory is absolutely gone. The different conditions of warfare make the case of the Boers altogether more hopeless of ultimate victory than the American revolution ever

was. The handful of Boers in the field are making industrial renaissance more difficult and well-nigh impossible, and making the ultimate terms less liberal. When there is absolutely no hope of victory and every day adds hardship to the friends of the fighters and renders liberal terms of settlement less possible, then continuance of fighting ceases to be bravery or patriotism, and becomes a crime, regardless of how the fighters may view it. Everybody knows, Botha and Kruger included, that the present fighting is not to preserve the Boer nationality. They know they cannot do it. It is simply a desperate recourse to destruction of the opportunities and property of both friend and foe. This is justifiable only when there is some possibility of success, but when havoc and destruction are the only result there is no justification on either military or political grounds.

Beet Sugar and Government Policy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It seems to me the beet sugar people must have a tremendous nerve to ask the government to pay a bounty on Cuban sugar and also maintain our tariff too. That is draining both the public treasury and the pockets of the consumers in order to let the Oxnards and a few other interests build up a profitable business. It seems as if they could hardly make a more unpopular demand or one more sure to defeat their own object.

M. T.

There is no particular nerve in this. The beet sugar people asked for protection. It is recognized as a part of the policy of the country that they should have it, and under it they have been induced to invest about \$26,000,000 in the industry, and are rapidly investing more. Paying a bounty on Cuban sugar is simply returning to the Cuban planters one-half cent a pound

of the tariff collected from them. Where is the nerve? If there is any nerve in this at all, it is in the Cubans asking for the half a cent. The American beet sugar people have no interest in this. They do not ask to have the bounty paid, except that they favor a half a cent a pound bounty in preference to free sugar. This is all; which is only like saying they prefer protection to free trade in sugar. This talk about "draining both the public treasury and the pockets of the consumers in order to let the Oxnards and a few other interests build up a profitable business" is fustian. If we want the beet sugar industry developed it has to be protected, and that is all that has been done. Moreover, it was done on purpose that somebody might build up a profitable business in sugar. It does not matter whether it is the Oxnards or Johnsons. It is the industry that we want. If we are to go into the free sugar business at all, the true way would be to put all sugar on the free list. Then, while the domestic industry would be destroyed, the people at least would get the benefit of the lower price, but free sugar for Cuba would destroy the industry without giving the American consumer any advantage in the lower price.

Practical Working of a Strike Remedy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I note with interest your suggestion that strikes could be prevented by a mutual conference system, where every dispute was discussed in advance by representatives of all the corporations and labor unions in a given district. You say the decisions of such a board could be binding on both parties. Very true, but how could they be enforced? There could be no law behind them, and nothing to hold anybody except the opinion of the others, and this would not count much against a question of real loss or gain.

G. W. R.

Oh, yes, the moral power of a mutual contract to-day in many quarters is much stronger than legal power. In Wall street, for instance, a business obligation is more binding than a statute. The reason is that the subsequent penalty, namely, the danger of being excluded from such dealings in the future, is more severe than a year in jail would be. Now this is true in business relations, and it becomes more true as the interests involved are large and complex. To-day any large corporation that would break its agreement with laborers would lose its reputation for fairness and square dealing, which would put it under a ban with the public, a position that no large corporation will endure for any trifling game. This is equally true of unions. The strength of the great unions to-day is their moral standing with the public. They can better afford to lose a strike than to lose their present growing reputation for honor and integrity of contract. This is shown by the eagerness with which in the machinists' strike both sides claimed that the other broke the agreement. A little experience in frank, friendly relation in a mutual organization would soon prove so valuable to both sides that neither would want to assume the odious responsibility of violating the agreement. The ability to enforce the agreement would rest on the moral character and personal honor of the leadership on both sides, which when once in vogue is much more powerful and enduring than statute law.

Civilization for the Filipinos

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Having read your lecture on "The President's Message," I would venture to question what I regard as a great mistake. On page 170 you say: "If it has taken our own race a thousand years to be

fit for free government, what hope have we of making the Filipinos reach that condition in much less time?" You forget that our race had no superiors to instruct them. They had everything to learn for themselves, while the Filipinos have only to be instructed in the arts, science and discoveries which our race has been thousands of years in making.

D. J. H.

True, the Filipinos have the advantage of the discoveries that civilization has made, which our ancestors had not. That will do much to develop industries, but we cannot develop intelligence and race character by any such short process as you can introduce new machines or mechanical devices. The negroes in the South have had the advantage of these, but their progress in personal capacity, citizenship and fitness for government falls a long way short of keeping pace with these improvements. At their present rate of improvement it will take many generations and probably centuries before the African race is anywhere near equal to the present average American citizen.

Yes, the progress of the Filipinos, with the help and influence of modern civilization, ought to be much faster than our own has been. But if it were twice or even four times as fast, it would take them two or three centuries to become capable of sustaining democratic institutions even as well as we sustain them. From the most optimistic aspect, it must be a matter of centuries before the Filipinos are really capable of creditable self-government under free democratic institutions.

Demoralization of the Democratic Party

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you suppose there is any future for the democratic party in this country? Partisanship aside, it seems really a misfortune that there should be such an absolute demoralization of all but one great political organization in this country. The adminis-

tration ought to have a vigorous opposition to keep it within bounds, but at present the democracy seems utterly without an issue, or leadership, or ideas of any kind.

S. P. H.

It is always a misfortune to a nation under representative government to have one of the great parties so completely paralyzed as to give the other an easy monopoly of power. It would be much better for the country and for the statesmanship of the republican party to have a strong, sane democratic party. Under the leadership of Mr. Cleveland the nation was plunged into disaster and the democratic party into disgrace. Under the leadership of Bryan, the democratic party was converted into a quasi-populist mob that could not be recognized by the sane conservative elements of the nation, regardless of political theory. It was held together by passion and prejudice, and must necessarily disintegrate before the serious problems of national politics. If the democratic party could be rehabilitated with honest statesmanlike leaders, representing some intelligible principles in public policy, it would exercise a wholesome influence upon the nation. Effective organized competition is as necessary to wholesome politics as to economic industry, but the first condition of permanent party power is sane leadership and intelligent policy.

BOOK REVIEWS

GEORGE WASHINGTON, and Other American Addresses. By Frederic Harrison, M. A. The Macmillan Company, London and New York. Cloth, gilt top, 250 pp. \$1.75.

It is always a delight to read Frederic Harrison, who is in some respects a unique character. He is the leader of the positivists in England; high priest of the religion of humanity, and the only surviving representative of the positive philosophy who had a personal acquaintance with the master, August Comte. Mr. Harrison combines the qualities of scholar, historian, philosopher and scientist to a degree seldom equalled in a public man of any nationality. He is broad enough to be thoroughly philosophical; exact enough to be scientific, and practical enough to be sane and sensible on great questions. He has, in an eminent degree, the historic sense so characteristic of the positive philosopher; he is intensely humane, progressive and democratic, but never a disrupting revolutionist. Through these qualities he has been in personal touch with all the progressive great men of England since the middle of the 19th century.

This book consists of a series of addresses on men and institutions in England and this country, every one of which is a gem. Among the characters of this country, discussed in this collection, are Washington and Lincoln. The two chapters on "The Millenary of King Alfred" and "The Writings of King Alfred" are distinct contributions to English history and literature. They bring together in small space a knowledge of the life, character and work of Alfred the Great that is hardly to be found elsewhere, certainly not in the same space and attractive form. The chapter on the Dutch

republic is worth many times the price of the whole book. While it may contain nothing new, it states the case of the rise and struggle, endurance and victory of the Dutch in their determination to have self-government in a way to start a thrill of encouragement and hope and justification for the struggle for freedom against numerical and institutional odds, such that the reader, even if a tory monarchist, could hardly resist. Though one may have read volumes on the Dutch republic, he cannot read this chapter without feeling that he has got something new, or at least a new and inspiring view of its founders and defenders. And scarcely less interesting are the chapters on personal reminiscences.

In his most charming and modest manner, Mr. Harrison talks about the great men who influenced and largely moulded the best that was in the philosophy, science and statesmanship the last half of the 19th century, and all from personal intercourse with them. This is the more interesting because in many instances he frequently found himself in sharp controversy with many of them. Of the two Englishmen who he thinks "have held the widest European reputation," Darwin and Spencer, he says:

"Few men of studious lives have spent so small a part of their time in actual reading. The right choice of books, the understanding of what they read, has done more for both of these thinkers than the midnight oil consumed over a library. It is genius, not omnivorous reading, which makes the creative thinker. Darwin's conceptions, which have revolutionized the thought of the world, were based on what he saw, on reports of competent observers, but mainly on his own marvelous power of coordinating disparate facts in the natural world."

In this respect he thinks Herbert Spencer even more extraordinary than Darwin. He says Huxley once told him "that of all men he had ever known, Spencer was supreme in the power to assimilate knowledge from the brains of competent students. I venture

to assert that no thinker of his calibre has wasted so little time on mere reading, which should be a warning to those who fancy that learning can take the place of brains."

Speaking of the personality of Darwin he says:

"I remember him as the most courteous, simple and retiring of men, wholly unconscious, it would seem, of his own vast reputation, and of such painful delicacy of bodily frame and of such intense nervous sensitiveness, that he could not endure conversation even within his family circle for more than a limited time."

His brief, reminiscent touch of John Stuart Mill is beautiful. Of him he says: "No more just, patient and generous soul ever adorned our public life."

This is undoubtedly as true as it is vivid and comprehensive. Few men ever lived who were at once as mild and as firm, as philosophic and as just and as unswervingly devoted to conviction and principle, as John Stuart Mill. A single instance in his political career illustrates this characteristic. It is needless to say that such a character could hardly be expected to succeed in practical politics, and hence no wonder that Mill was not a success as a member of parliament, but he thoroughly believed in the idea of clean political methods, and to that end insisted that no man should contribute to the expenses of his own election; insisting that a member of parliament or any other elective officer was a public servant. He worked for the public and the public should elect him at their own expense. Consistently with this view, when a candidate for parliament, he declined to contribute to the expenses of his own election but sent £10 toward the election expenses of Bradlaw, the iconoclast, in Nottingham. In this he committed a double offence: first, in not helping the committee of his own district, and second, in contributing to that of an atheist. He was not unaware that he was encountering a political prejudice in his own constituency and a religious prejudice of a whole nation,

yet on principle he did it. They warned him it would, as it finally did, cost him his seat in parliament.

Altogether this is a charming book, charmingly written, with a delightful historic touch throughout, without a single dry page.

A PRIMER OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By S. T. Wood. Cloth, 143 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is truly a primer. The whole book consists of a continuous talk on the elementary motives and tendency of economic action. It is entirely free from all technical terminology. It talks in commonplace terms about capital and labor, taxation, buying and selling, and banking and money. It is so simple, however, that its chief danger is in being unclear from its simplicity. All that the author says is clear to the reader informed on the subject, but to the beginner it would be largely obscure. It explains nothing with sufficient thoroughness to make its reading important. One might read all that it says on banks, for instance, or on gold and silver, but if not informed on the subject he would really know little when he got through, though this is the most exhaustive chapter in the book.

In his efforts to be elementary the author is sometimes not entirely correct. For instance, on page 93 he says:

"The holder of a silver certificate, too, though entitled to only a silver dollar, can obtain a gold dollar on demand."

This would give the impression that the holder of a silver certificate or a silver dollar can demand from somebody a gold dollar in exchange. Now this is not true. He can get it by courtesy almost anywhere but by right nowhere. Neither the government nor the

banks nor anybody else is under any legal obligation to give a gold dollar for a silver certificate or for a silver dollar. The silver dollar is full legal tender and is not legally subject to redemption in anything, any more than the gold dollar is. A silver certificate can be redeemed in a silver dollar, but not a gold dollar. It is not a promise to pay but a certificate of deposit, and like pawn tickets gives the right to demand just what was deposited when it was issued, which is a silver dollar, that and nothing else.

It is a well written little book, but it is not a treatise and could hardly be used as a text-book.

SOCIAL LAWS. By Solon Lauer. Cloth, 257 pages, \$2.00. Nike Publishing House, Cleveland, Ohio.

This book is composed of a multitude of short essays, averaging scarcely a page in length. They touch upon every social, economic and political life and all with the air of saying the last word with unmeasured assurance. The key to which everything is pitched is that everything that is is good, that laborers are fools, rich men are philosophers, that society is nearing the millennium, and those who are not happy—it is their own fault. There is no subject in the range of human experience which he does not dispose of in a page to his complete satisfaction, but, unfortunately, in too many instances with the obvious mark of superficial acquaintance with and often ignorance of the subject.

He applauds imperialism, praises "trusts," denounces labor unions and treats enforced idleness as an impossibility. In fact, he writes of prices and wages, unions and strikes, industry and government, with the assurance of an expert and the evident equipment of a novice.

The object of the author, if he had any besides the

desire to make a book, appears to have been to applaud the rich and snub the poor, but he has done it with such evident unacquaintance with the economic conditions and forces of society that the rich may well ask to be saved from such friends.

NINTH BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS FOR THE STATE OF IOWA, 1899-1900. By C.F. Wennerstrum, commissioner of labor. Paper, 598 pp.

In his letter of transmittal to the governor Mr. Wennerstrum explains the varied character of the work of the bureau and urges the need of more adequate legislation on labor matters, especially on factory conditions. He personally inspected over 400 factories and found a great need of better sanitation, protection from dangerous machinery, and regulation of child labor. Considerable attention was given to the latter subject.

Beside giving abundant statistics of labor conditions, the report contains the results of investigations of the eight-hour day and its general effect on labor, strikes and lockouts, cooperative undertakings, and labor unions.

Papers by Carroll D. Wright and other prominent economic writers are also included.

HANDBOOK OF SANITATION. By George M. Price, M.D., Medical Sanitary Inspector, Department of Health, New York City, etc. Cloth, 306 pages, with index. John Wiley & Sons, New York and London.

The book before us is evidently intended to make more plain the work of municipal sanitation. It gives directions regarding plumbing, treats of soils, tells about bacteria, explains systems of heating, and has a chapter on infectious diseases. A review of New York's tenement house law is given, and methods of disinfection are clearly explained. In the hands of intelligent

people the book would enable the householder to know when sanitary work is properly performed on his premises, and possibly equip him to perform certain services for himself without seeking the aid of a specialist.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Pen Pictures from Ruskin. Descriptive passages chosen by Caroline Wurtzburg. Crown, 16mo. \$1.00. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Prisoners of Russia. By Dr. Benjamin Howard, with an introduction by General O. O. Howard. Cloth, 12mo. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The Doom of Dogma and the Dawn of Truth. By Henry Frank. 12mo, about \$2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Evolution. By Frank P. Jevons, M.A. 12mo, 301 pp. \$1.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Oliver Cromwell. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A. Cloth, crown, 8vo, 319 pp., gilt top. \$1.50 net, by mail, \$1.62. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. With photogravure portrait.

Lamarck, the Founder of Evolution. His Life and Work, with Translations of his Writings on Organic Evolution. By Alpheus S. Packard, M.D., LL.D. Large crown, 8vo. \$2.40 net, postage additional. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Illustrated.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A. Vol. III, 1654-1656. 8vo. \$7.00. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Containing 6 maps.

Spiritual and Material Attraction. A Conception of Unity. By Eugene Del Mar. Cloth, 79 pp. 75 cents. Williams Publishing House, Seabreeze, Fla.

The Education of the American Citizen. By Arthur T. Hadley, LL.D., president of Yale University. \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

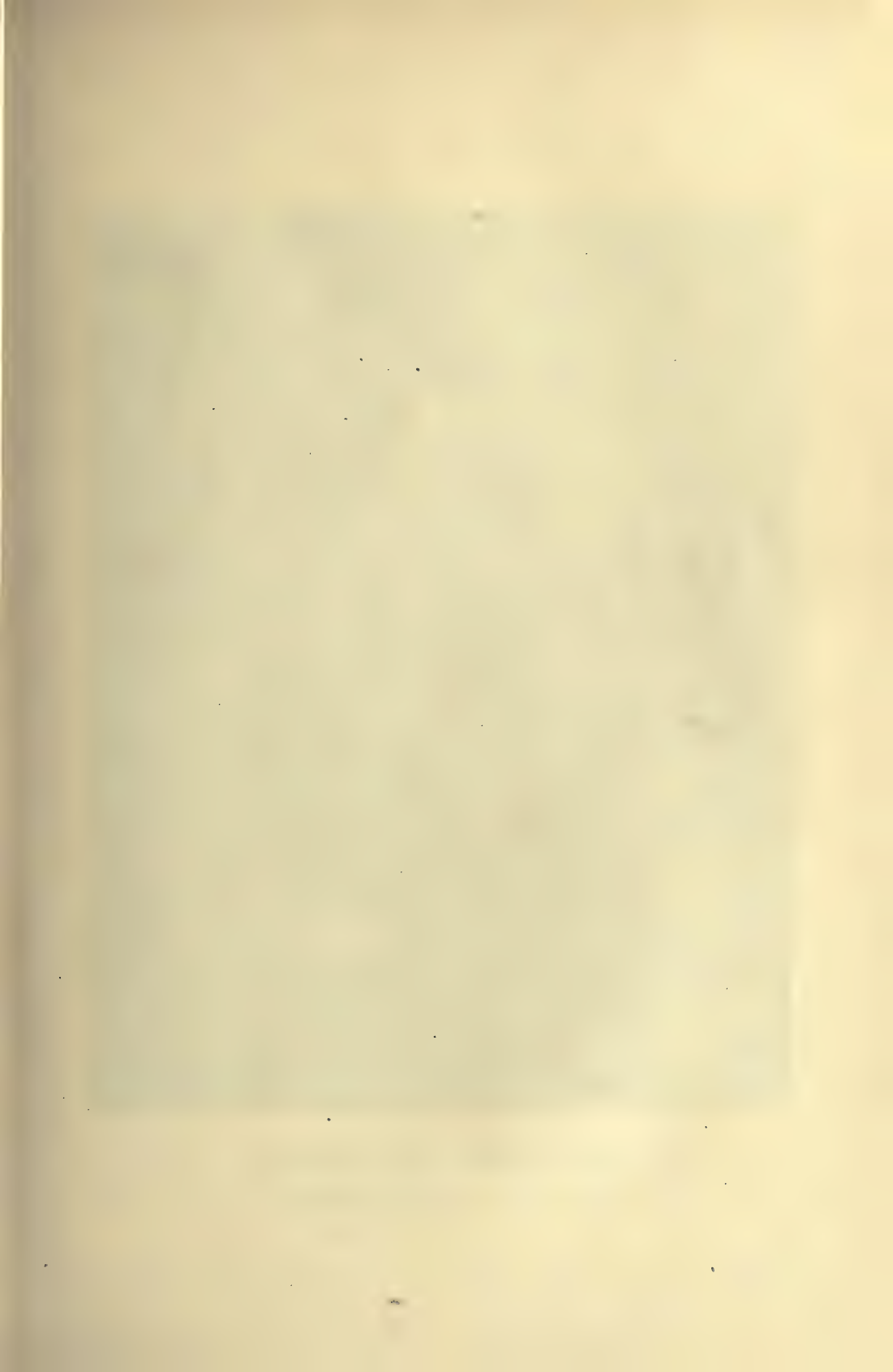
FROM JANUARY MAGAZINES

“The great advantages of securing charters would be that the unions would have a standing in court; they would have a better standing in public estimation, and they would be more likely to select the ablest men for leaders. As legal persons they could enforce their contracts against employers, while they would be responsible for breach of contract on their own part. They have been debarred heretofore from appearing in court by representatives, and have thus lost a great advantage which would have been of the utmost importance to them. Incorporation, responsibility, and the dignity which comes from these answer in large degree the questions asked at the beginning of this article—that is, it would be wise to fully recognize unions by the law, to admit their necessity as labor guides and protectors, to conserve their usefulness, to increase their responsibility, and to prevent their follies and aggressions by conferring upon them the privileges enjoyed by all business corporations, but with like restrictions and regulations.”—CARROLL D. WRIGHT, in “Consolidated Labor;” *The North American Review*.

“One of the most dramatic invasions of England has been that of the Diamond Match Company. This American trust has spent years perfecting the most remarkable automatic machinery known, which made the manufacture, which was formerly very unhealthy and dangerous, absolutely safe for the working people. They determined to enter the English market and built a factory near Liverpool. They found that the girls presenting themselves for employment were in the most dreadful condition physically—half-starved and utterly different from the working women in their

American factories. The first thing done was to examine the teeth of every applicant. If found defective they were filled by the factory dentist, for necrosis makes its attack through the teeth. Suitable working apparel was furnished them by the works. A lunch was prepared to be served in a light and pleasant room at midday. In fact, everything to improve the healthy cheerfulness, and thereby improve the working efficiency, of these girls was done in exact imitation of the methods followed in the United States. Within two or three months the transformation in the condition of the working women was marvelous. They did their work in bright, clean quarters, entirely free from bad air or phosphoric vapors, and they produced matches at prices far below their English competitors, who had clung to antiquated methods, old-fashioned machinery, defective factories, and an utter lack of care for the health and condition of employees.

"As a result of the American competition the English works were finally obliged to succumb, and have been taken over by the American factory. At the stockholders' meeting where this was done the head of the Diamond Match Company told the stockholders a great many truths, informing them that about every piece of machinery in their works when they were taken over would be thrown in the scrap heap and that the business was badly managed. The stockholders, with true English liking for a man who talks straight from the shoulder, gladly gave their votes to put the industry in the control of competence."—ULYSSES D. EDDY, in *The World's Work*.





DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

President of Columbia University

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Everybody is
Friendly Now

It is as true of nations as of individuals that the strong have friends. However cynical, this observation upon human nature still holds good, even along with the newer and happier fact that the progress of civilization is bringing about a larger and larger measure of real friendship for the weak, more voluntary help for the oppressed, more relief for the suffering, prompted by motives of genuine sympathy rather than any hope of selfish advantage. This spirit, developing first in the personal and social relations of men, has hardly as yet become the guiding principle in the dealings between nations, and probably will not for many generations. The voluntary interference of the United States in behalf of Cuba is the most conspicuous case of national altruism in history, yet this only points the general trend of civilization; it is far from indicating any important change in the present-day practice of international diplomacy.

The Spanish war was a revelation to Europe. It forced an unwelcome necessity upon the powers—that of really having to count with the United States in international affairs in an altogether new sense. Europe respected us more, but if anything liked us less. The feeling of dislike has grown rather steadily ever since, aggravated lately to the boiling point by our rapid extension of foreign trade in competition with European manufacturers and exporters. It is only a few

months ago that there was serious talk of a European coalition against the United States—some sort of a commercial, if not political, possibly looking even to a military, combination to resist the "American peril."

In the midst of all this, the seemingly trivial incident of the christening of a German imperial yacht, now under construction in an American shipyard, became the starting point of a complete revolution in the European attitude towards this country. If the kaiser really foresaw that any concerted anti-American action was an idle dream, and sought to "get in line" ahead of everybody else, he made a clever use of the undoubted power of social influence and patriotic sentiment to that end, by his request that President Roosevelt's daughter perform the ceremony of christening the new yacht. Acceptance of this invitation pleased the kaiser so much that he promptly arranged to send his brother, Prince Henry, and the imperial yacht Hohenzollern to the launching and christening; and immediately the general European somersault began. The other powers saw at once that if hostility to the United States could not be universal the case was hopeless; if one was going to be friendly, all must. The result has been a highly entertaining scramble, each government trying to prove that it and it alone was our real friend and saved us from annihilation at the outbreak of the Spanish war in 1898.

An official statement of England's friendliness was made by Lord Cranborne, in answer to an inquiry in the British parliament, on January 21st. He declared that several notes were received by the British government in the spring of 1898, proposing a joint expression of remonstrance to the United States government, but that England refused to join any such movement beyond a merely colorless note expressing the hope that peace could be preserved.

This statement at once brought forth "unofficial explanations" from Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg. By common consent, the intervention proposal was attributed to the Austrian government, because of its family connections with the Spanish throne. But French and Russian "interviews" began to appear, intended to show that neither government gave any support to the Austrian suggestions. Russia, in fact, is represented as having defeated the whole plan by refusing to join at the last moment when all the Spanish hopes were centered upon the czar. It was left for Germany, however, to offer the most definite piece of concrete evidence. On February 12th, the German government published the text of a dispatch, said to have been prepared by Lord Pauncefoot, the British ambassador to the United States, which was sent from Washington by the representatives of England, Germany, France, Russia, Austria and Italy to their respective home governments on April 14th, 1898, suggesting a joint note to be addressed to the United States government, declaring in effect that our intervention in Cuba could neither be regarded as justifiable nor as commanding "the support and approval of the civilized world." Baron von Holleben, the German ambassador, in advising his home government of this proposed note, cabled also that personally he regarded the demonstration "somewhat coldly." This dispatch was placed before the kaiser, who endorsed upon it the notation: "I regard it as completely futile and purposeless, and therefore prejudicial. I am against this step."

This has seemed to make Germany's case good, on rather conclusive evidence, so far at least as her government is concerned. The implication, however, that an unfriendly note was inspired by Lord Pauncefoot promptly brought the British government to the de-

fence. Lord Cranborne has issued a statement to the effect that Lord Pauncefote was acting simply as the "dean" of the diplomatic corps at Washington in initiating this move, and that whatever opinions he expressed at the time "were personal to himself, and not pursuant to instructions from her majesty's government."

At present, about the only certain thing is that the dispatch was agreed upon by all the ambassadors, and there is no evidence that any of them except Baron von Holleben disapproved it in any way. In the larger aspect of the case, however, it is equally certain that, regardless of diplomatic negotiations, the English press and people were practically alone in Europe in constant expressions of hearty friendliness to the United States in the Spanish war, and it is more than probable that the moral effect of this attitude, with its manifest influence upon British policy, had more to do with the action of continental Europe than all the court negotiations that took place.

**Our Opportunity,
and
Responsibility**

There is a little moral satisfaction in the spectacle of almost universal sneering hostility turned into wholesale flattering professions of friendship, when it is perfectly obvious that the only reason is the astounding progress in wealth and power we have made in the last few years. But there is a real basis for congratulation in the promise this novel situation gives of international peace. The United States now holds so great a balance of power that the weight of its influence in almost any important complication would practically determine the outcome in advance. Not even Russia or England would care to throw themselves into any important undertaking leading to possible war, if it were known that American interests were seriously involved on the opposite side. This does not mean that it is our mission to in-

terfere in foreign politics, or try to become the arbiter of international relations, but it does mean that in any great question of civilization, where our interests are legitimately involved, we are in a position to exercise practically a controlling influence on the result, and this not by taking up arms but just by the potential menace of what American opposition might mean. This would practically compel the exhaustion of every available peaceful solution before resorting to force.

It is a magnificent thing for civilization that such a tremendous power for good should, in the course of societary evolution, pass into the hands of the one great nation which stands for free democratic institutions, and has reached its present greatness through the persistent development of its own industrial, social and moral civilization. No nation ever had so great a responsibility, so imperative an obligation, to hold fast and true to these vital principles, in whatever influence it may come to exercise upon world policies of the future. The danger is that American statesmen will not adequately realize that the first condition of holding true to these principles in foreign relations is to hold true to them at home. To surrender any feature of democratic principles in favor of a quasi-monarchical type of "expansion," or lessen the efforts to build up the highest and finest type of free and prosperous domestic civilization, as an example and guidance to all nations, in favor of a greedy chase after foreign possessions, will simply mean reducing the quality of our influence in international affairs to the old familiar level of militarism, land grabbing and colonization by force. Have our publicists and statesmen begun to realize how vitally the character of our world influence in the future is going to be determined by the direction we give to our national policies now ?

Changing Opinion
on the
Philippines

There is no lack of test points, either in domestic or foreign policy, affecting this general trend of our national development: for example, the Philippine situation. Regardless of all that has been done there since the Spanish war, the problem of the future of the islands is still open and undetermined, and includes in its solution the immensely larger question of whether the American republic is going to keep its footing on the broad basis of democratic institutions, or step off into the uncertain sea of virtual colonization, holding alien dependencies and ruling them by force, on the strictly imperial principle of external authority. Here is a distinct parting of the ways, and American statesmanship must decide which road to take.

It is not a question that necessarily involves criticism of the work of Governor Taft and his commission, nor of the army's efforts to establish peace and extend the Taft government throughout the islands. Both the civil and the military administrations are undoubtedly doing the best they can with the conditions and under the instructions and policy they are trying to carry out. Nobody whose opinion is of serious importance believes that we ought simply to pack up and sail away from the islands, leaving them to chaos: yet the larger part of the so-called "expansionist" press, laboring under the delusion evidently that it has a monopoly of American patriotism, still beats the tom-toms around this bogie, representing it as the demand of everybody who does not favor permanent annexation of the Philippines.

As time goes on, and the distressing complications in the islands bring to light fresh violations of American ideas and principles resulting from, probably even necessitated by, this new policy of conquest and foreign possessions, producing a marked reaction of American public opinion against the whole enterprise, it might

be supposed that some better justification would be offered than this continuous blowing-off of blustering indignation about the mythical "traitors" who want to "haul down the flag" and skulk away in a night. Public opinion is likely very soon to give notice that if the Philippine policy cannot stand on better foundations than misrepresentation, vituperation, and suppression of discussion, it cannot stand at all.

The utterly un-American tone adopted in defence of this new expansion-by-force policy must be regarded as a passing rather than permanent phase of public discussion; otherwise it would be fairly disheartening. Things that were scarcely hinted at, and then only in apologetic fashion, at the close of the Spanish war, are now proclaimed from the house-tops. The abominable doctrine of despotism that "might makes right" is practically affirmed with brazen frankness, not only in the press, but even on the floor of the senate. "Where the flag has once gone up it shall never come down," the literal working basis of Russian imperialism, is cheerfully adopted as if it were a fundamental American idea. "Right or wrong, the Anglo-Saxon race never lets go what it once acquires," is another modern version of Roman empire philosophy. Probably it was also the British theory in 1776, but history does not record that it was a favorite doctrine with the American patriots of that day or that they contributed anything in particular to its infallibility either then or in 1812.

All this simply illustrates how, in drifting into the unnatural position of repressing a struggle for national independence, our very political doctrine and public thinking unconsciously take on the language and phraseology of conquest and autocracy. The plain truth is, if any public speaker, ten years ago, or even five, had undertook to tell an American audience anywhere that in less than a decade we should be forcing our rule

upon a group of Asiatic islands, with the object of annexing them as permanent dependencies, spending hundreds of millions of dollars and wasting thousands of American lives in the effort, concentrating the population in military camps with the death notice for all outside, tolerating slavery under the American flag in some of these islands, putting a seal on the public press, speech, and even conversation, in a way that would make it dangerous to read the Declaration of Independence in a public meeting, and perhaps unsafe even to teach some parts of American history in the schools,—such a speaker would either have been jeered into silence or hooted from the platform. That which it is now “treason” to deplore would then have been either lunacy or insult to the flag to predict.

We are far from implying that the present situation in the Philippines is the result of any vicious intent, or any conscious effort to undermine our democratic institutions. It has grown out of the lack of any strong positive leadership, holding us firmly to the vital principles of our government. Such leadership would have adopted a policy in the Philippines similar to that pursued in Cuba, taking charge of the islands as an emergency duty, not with any annexation object in view, but to aid them develop the capacity for independence at the earliest feasible moment.

Had such a policy been announced at the outset, and our control of affairs exercised in that spirit and towards that end, it is more than probable no rebellion would have occurred. Whether a declaration by congress now, in favor of ultimate independence for the islands, would bring hostilities to an immediate end is somewhat doubtful, because of the Filipino distrust and hatred of American authority, born of three years of warfare; but it would be the most effective move towards peace within our power to make, as the situa-

tion now stands. The effect would be much slower than if it had come three years ago, but there is every reason to believe it would rapidly dissolve the bitterness and take the motive out of the present continued resistance.

**Schurman's Address,
and the Senate
Debate**

There is a distinct trend of public sentiment towards this view, reflected in utterances like that of President Schurman of Cornell at Boston on January 20th, and reenforced by the news of General Bell's re-concentration policy in Batangas province, and the remarkable orders of the civil government suppressing practically all manner of criticism of our policy and methods in the islands, either in press, speech or conversation. Dr. Schurman's address before the Reform Club went over the history of the Philippine situation in considerable detail, including his own first-hand knowledge as chairman of the Philippine commission, and declared as his present conviction that: "Any decent kind of government of the Filipinos by the Filipinos is better than the best possible government of the Filipinos by Americans. . . . The United States is the last people in the world to reason any other people into political subjection. Against a whole nation aspiring and struggling to be independent, it is as impossible to-day to draw up an indictment as it was when Burke repudiated the task in connection with the thirteen original colonies."

It is not so very long ago that Dr. Schurman was being liberally quoted as favoring permanent annexation, and described as one of the most competent and thoroughly informed authorities on the Philippine situation. His patriotism has never been open to discussion; but it is edifying to learn now from General Wheaton, in a somewhat lurid cablegram from Manila, that if Presi-

dent Schurman had expressed the above sentiments in the islands he would have been promptly locked up. Doubtless the same fate would befall Senator Hoar, whose great debate with Senator Platt of Connecticut, and others, on the Philippine problem has been attracting the attention of the whole country.

There is something of a mystery lying just beneath the surface of all this. If the utterances of men like President Schurman and Senator Hoar are responsible for the continuation of the Philippine insurrection, it ought to be made clear why the overwhelming defeat of Bryan in 1900 did not end it, when the Taft commission had confidently predicted that such a defeat would end the war within sixty days after the election. Why, also, has it become necessary to adopt reconcentration methods and rigid censorship of public speech just at the time when, according to the testimony Governor Taft has been giving before the senate committee, nearly all of the archipelago is pacified, civil government in regular operation, and the natives "enthusiastically" in favor of American control? The problem clearly needs a little light more directly from the field, where the struggle is going on. General Chaffee, in chief command in the Philippines, has said in a recent report that: "The natives of these islands are all traitors to American sovereignty, all have their hearts on independence." As Senator Hoar put it, in the conclusion of his reply to Senator Platt on February 11th:

"I have learned to trust men, even the greatest and the best men, not by what they say but by what they do; and when Governor Taft says that the Filipino people do not want independence, and says at the same time nobody shall express that desire above his breath, I distrust the opinion and for evidence of the fact look to the act. When he says that the people are enjoying American freedom, and at the same time he promulgates a law that makes it a penitentiary offence to read the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July, I confess I am very little impressed by his judgment and very profoundly impressed by his edict."

The question was asked of Senator Tillman, a few days ago, whether his sympathies were with the Americans or the Filipinos. The answer, "With the Filipinos," accompanied by the usual amount of Tillmanesque ranting, evidently served the purpose precisely. It enabled the questioner to shout the South Carolina senator into the ranks of the traitors, and, by intended inference of course, practically everybody who favors ultimate Philippine independence. The incident is of little significance in itself, but suggests by contrast with the Tillman outburst the proper and patriotic answer that might have been made. Any and every loyal American might and ought to sympathize with the men in the ranks and their dependent families, on both sides: the men who, in obedience to the soldier's duty, are obliged to spread misery and death and wretched waste over the length and breadth of a great archipelago, in needless warfare over a needless issue. And furthermore, every sentiment of American patriotism might and ought to gather round the standard of free, independent, democratic institutions, upon which this republic was founded, and which we, least of all nations, can afford to deny to any civilization-respecting race, struggling for independence, anywhere on the face of the earth.

Annexation of
the Danish
West Indies

Much more gratifying than anything we are doing in the Philippines is the extension of our protective and peace-promoting influence here in the western hemisphere, within the limits of legitimate guardianship as expressed in the Monroe doctrine. The policy of safeguarding the free growth of democratic institutions in the Americas is strictly in line with the principles of our national institutions, and has nothing in common with the un-

American venture of going half-way round the globe to force our government upon an alien, tropical people.

In the annexation of the Danish West Indies, comprising the islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix, a definite military advantage is secured, of importance in the event of European aggressions upon any American republic, and particularly useful as a naval base in defence of the approaches to the Isthmian canal. The treaty of cession, under which we pay \$5,000,000 for the islands, was unanimously approved by the senate on February 17th and now awaits only the final endorsement of the Danish rigsdag. There is every reason to believe that the change of sovereignty is thoroughly agreeable to the people of the islands. They voted overwhelmingly in favor of it in the late sixties, when the same proposition was under consideration, and it is reported now from St. Thomas that the news of the ratification of the treaty has been received with enthusiastic satisfaction.

The problem of the future of these islands has been under discussion, and the subject of many attempted schemes for their disposal, for many years, and their final transfer to the United States is the natural solution of the problem. We were on the point of acquiring them under Presidents Johnson and Grant, but the undertaking was frustrated by various political and diplomatic complications. Denmark does not want the islands, but we cannot permit them to pass into the control of any other European power; on the other hand, we can actually utilize them for important military objects; finally, the people of the islands are in favor of the change. To take them over, therefore, is entirely consistent with the traditional principles of American policy in this hemisphere.

Work of the
Pan-American
Conference

Our efforts in the recent Pan-American conference, held in the city of Mexico, were also strictly in the line of legitimate and wholesome American influence in the western continents. Although the results were not great, they give hopeful promise of something more definite in future developments. The conference nearly went to pieces over the question of international arbitration, because of difficulties between Chili, Peru, and Argentina, but the troubles were eventually adjusted, and the final outcome of the conference is that the countries represented have agreed to become signers of the international arbitration convention adopted at The Hague in 1900. This does not mean compulsory arbitration, of course, but it does mean the bringing in of a powerful moral force in support of the arbitration principle, and it is within the bounds of reasonable expectation that it will exercise a real restraining influence on the petty quarrels so frequent among our South African neighbors. The influence of the United States ought to be constantly exerted in behalf of still stronger guarantees of international peace, particularly among the American republics. This will really contribute something to the permanency and success of the democratic institutions already established here, and hence to the growth of similar tendencies throughout the world. To establish the principle and practice of arbitration among the American republics would remove the most serious drawback, at present, in their free development as independent nations. The petty quarrels and wars between these little states have frequently been made the basis of a demand that the United States ought to assume a protectorate, if not quasi-sovereignty, over them all. But, if we can throw our influence effectively into the development of international arbitration in this hemisphere, it will be a far greater service to these

countries' welfare than any interference whatever on our part with their national independence. They can best develop along their own racial lines, carrying the responsibility of self-government and self-maintenance, than under any kind of external authority. It is along the line of preserving both our own and their best opportunities for free national development that we shall continue to find our greatest opportunities of service in the cause of civilization and universal peace.

Anglo-Japanese
Alliance

The treaty just concluded between England and Japan, with special reference to the Chinese situation, is a most hopeful development in the direction along which the influence of the United States government has been exerted ever since the Chinese problem took acute form in the boxer troubles of 1900. The new alliance represents the first serious reaction against Russia's advance in Manchuria; it may be the beginning of a much larger coalition of the forces standing opposed to any policy of outright partition or exclusive sectional control of Chinese territory. This purpose, in fact, is expressly stated in the opening paragraph of the treaty, which refers to the two governments as "actuated solely by a desire to maintain the status quo and general peace in the extreme East, and being, moreover, especially interested in maintaining the independence of China and Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations."

The inclusion of Korea represents Japan's specific interest in the treaty, the general purport of the convention being that if either party shall become involved in a war in connection with its interests in China or Korea, respectively, the other will remain neutral; but, if any other power should join in hostilities against either of the parties to the treaty, England will go to

the assistance of Japan or Japan to the assistance of England, as the case may be. The treaty is to last five years, but if at the time of its expiration either party is engaged in war the treaty shall continue in force until peace is concluded.

Reduced to the concrete, this convention simply means that if England should decide to resist by force any further Russian monopolizing of Manchuria, or Japan should undertake to drive Russian influence out of Korea once for all, the other party to the treaty would remain neutral, but, if France or any other power should join Russia, England and Japan would immediately act together.

One important effect of this is already reported; whether upon good authority or not it is impossible to say, but the report itself is by no means improbable. It should be recalled that in the midst of the Chinese troubles in 1900 Russia pledged herself to the powers to get out of Manchuria as soon as satisfactory terms of evacuation could be concluded with the Chinese government, after the restoration of regular diplomatic relations. It turned out that the "satisfactory terms" Russia had in mind to force upon the Chinese practically amounted to no evacuation at all. In brief, the effort has been to make China agree that no railroad, mining or other concessions should be granted in Manchuria except to Russians and Chinese, and that any Chinese who obtained concessions must get their loans of capital to carry on the work from the "Russo-Chinese Bank," which is practically a Russian institution. Our own government has exerted strenuous diplomatic pressure against any such agreement, and it is now stated that the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese treaty has at least caused postponement of any further Russian intrigues in that direction.

If the outcome should be Russia's withdrawal from

Manchuria, or at least such a limitation of Russian control as will guarantee the "open door" and liberal rights to foreigners, in all respects the same as in China proper, the new alliance will have proved itself an event of the first magnitude in the promotion of western civilization in the Orient. Japan, though an oriental nation, is becoming so thoroughly western in all her methods and ideas that this alliance with England, so far from being incongruous, is everywhere regarded as perfectly natural and consistent. It is the most advanced nation of Europe joining hands with the most progressive nation of the East, for the promotion of similar ends in the great world problems to be settled in that quarter of the globe in the next few years. The United States, as the great progressive republic of the western hemisphere, would be the natural third party in such a compact, but it is better that we should continue to exert our share of influence as an independent moral force, not as a party to military alliances. It is ground for genuine satisfaction, however, to know that the moral force we have exerted thus far, in behalf of the open door and no partition of China, is what has really strengthened the hands of the other most advanced nations in defence of the same policy, and prepared the way for the raising of this new bulwark against the Russianizing of Asia.

The enormous stream of wealth that is being poured into educational channels in this country is even more remarkable than the flood tide of "trust" organization which reached its climax two or three years ago. Mr. Carnegie's recent gift of \$10,000,000 to the United States government for a national university of research, at Washington, and Mrs. Stanford's final making over of nearly \$30,000,000 worth of property to Leland

Stanford, Jr., University, stupendous as the donations are, have not attracted a fraction of the attention they would have done fifteen or twenty years ago, simply because we have grown accustomed nowadays to educational endowments in figures that would have been fairly staggering in the '70's or '80's.

So far as concerns Stanford University, the gift of \$30,000,000 involves nothing new in the general policy or ultimate plans of the institution, but merely puts into its permanent legal possession an endowment which has long been in prospect, but was temporarily threatened by litigation over the title to the Southern Pacific railway properties. Of course, these securities now represent a considerably larger value than they would have done if transferred, say, ten years ago.

The Carnegie gift, however, provides for something entirely new. It fills a need long felt for an institution of higher research, not to compete with the established universities, but in a sense to furnish through its research work a source of leadership and guidance for all purely instructive work in the country. It has been arranged that the money will be furnished in various securities acceptable to the national government, and not in stocks or bonds of the United States Steel Corporation, which it was feared might involve the government in embarrassing complications should any proceedings against the steel corporation ever be brought by the attorney general of the United States.

In order to carry out the purpose of this gift, the "Carnegie Institution" was incorporated at Washington on January 4th, in behalf of the government; the incorporators being Secretary of State John Hay, Justice Edwin D. White of the supreme court, ex-President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, Supt. Charles D. Walcott of the geological survey, ex-Surgeon John S. Billings of the navy, and Labor

Commissioner Carroll D. Wright. In explaining the objects and plans of the institution Commissioner Wright said, in an interview in the *New York Tribune*, January 11th, 1902:

"The Carnegie Institution has been incorporated for the express purpose of conducting researches connected with all matters pertaining to science, literature and art. There are many scientific subjects on which knowledge in this country is meager, and those who wish to utilize it are often obliged to go to European sources.

"Carnegie Institution will be in a position, when it has thoroughly systematized its work, to develop such matters in the United States and to bring to this country, if essential, the men and means for such purposes.

"It is not to be a teaching institution in the common acceptance of the term, but one which shall reach to original sources and carry on investigations that bid fair to be of the greatest value to the greatest interests of the country.

"There are very many questions connected with the natural sciences and all other branches of scientific study to which the Carnegie Institution can address its work. There are very grave questions which require patient and persistent study—questions which cannot be well taken up by individuals or in many cases by academic institutions of learning.

"Thus the Carnegie Institution has the power to place the keystone in the educational arch, and this without interference with existing organized effort. The development of matters relating to the industrial progress, the condition of the people, and many others, form the broadest fields for the organized work of the new institution."

**Private Wealth
and Public Good**

The editor of Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia has just stated the total of gifts to educational and philanthropic objects in this country in 1901, counting only gifts of \$5,000 and upwards, as aggregating \$107,360,000, which is \$60,000,000 more than in 1900 and \$44,000,000 more than in 1899.

All this marvelous contribution to the highest and best aspects of our civilization is taking place under a system of private enterprise, the most thorough and probably also the most maligned, in human history. It is an interesting question just how long we should probably have had to wait, if the industries of the country

had been in the hands of the government, for congress to appropriate to higher education a fraction of the vast amounts now regularly being furnished through private channels. It would also be interesting to know about how long we should have to wait for a condition of political perfection that would accomplish this distribution of funds with anything like the present advantages of personal knowledge, investigation and selection, rather than the wire-pulling method of congressional appropriations at the instance of the political "lobby."

Following along the same line a little farther,—even if it were possible to get the appropriations with equal intelligence and honesty and liberality through congressional action, it would be interesting to know where the funds would come from when there was no further field or opportunity for individual enterprise, specialist application, resourcefulness and inventiveness. It is through the economic improvements, developed by this personal enterprise, that these great accumulations of surplus wealth have come into existence, along with the even larger gains to the public in general. With all the industries of the country controlled by the political convention method, and managed on the departmental bureaucracy plan, there might be enough produced for the nation to live on, but according to all human experience and "reasonable expectation" we should soon reach the point of having no surplus available either for new productive experimentation and development of new industries or for educational and philanthropic objects, and thereafter come face to face with a gradual shrinking up even of the present sources of material well-being and comfort for the whole community.

Current Price
Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Feb. 21, 1901	Nov. 21, 1901	Feb. 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent	\$4.00	\$3.75	\$3.90
Wheat, No. 2 red	80½	82½	88
Corn, No. 2 mixed	48½	67½	68
Oats, No. 2 mixed	31	46½	50
Pork, mess	14.25	16.00	16.50
Beef, hams	19.00	19.00	19.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7	7½	6½	5½
Sugar, granulated	5.50	4.90	4.80
Butter, creamery, extra	23½	25	30
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy.	12½	10½	12
Cotton, middling upland	9½	8	8½
Print cloths	3	3	3½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.95	7.65	7.20
Hides, native steers	11½	13½	12
Leather, hemlock	24	24½	25
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	15.50	16.00	17.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.25	15.00	16.50
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	26.50	27.50	25.00
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.)	16.87½	17.00	12.25
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.)	4.37½	4.37½	4.10
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20	—	4.40	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.)	—	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg)	—	2.30	2.05

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	Feb. 1, 1901	Jan. 3, 1902	Feb. 7, 1902
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	5 17 6	5 10 —	5 7 6
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 12 6	2 8 9½	2 9 7
Copper (" ")	71 — —	48 13 9	55 2 —
Tin, Straits (" ")	121 10 —	106 5 —	112 10 0
Lead, English pig (" ")	15 15 —	10 11 3	11 13 9
Cotton, middling upland (lb.)	— — 5½	— — 4½	— — 4½
Petroleum (gallon)	— — 6	— — 6½	— — 6½

(American equivalents of English money: pound = \$4.866; shilling = .217; penny = .018.)

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for February 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1898	Feb. 1, 1899	Feb. 1, 1900	Feb. 1, 1901	Jan. 1, 1902	Feb. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . . .	\$17.700	\$13.651	\$14.410	\$13.486	\$15.062	\$20.002	\$19.505
Meats	7.895	7.516	7.823	8.612	8.592	9.670	9.494
Dairy and garden	13.180	12.481	10.897	12.580	13.866	15.248	14.384
Other food	9.185	8.251	9.084	9.401	9.418	8.952	8.961
Clothing	13.430	14.805	14.257	17.572	16.271	15.547	15.460
Metals.	14.665	11.635	12.731	18.112	15.845	15.375	15.494
Miscellaneous . .	13.767	12.266	12.532	16.413	15.956	16.793	16.278
Total	\$89.822	\$80.605	\$81.734	\$96.176	\$95.010	\$101.587	\$99.576

Prices of agricultural products at last show a slight reaction from the extraordinary high tone of the last few months, but there is no indication of a heavy decline in any of the five groups. As *Dun's Review* observes, the most remarkable price phenomenon at present is the failure of metals to show more than a trivial advance of less than one per cent., even in the face of "unexampled activity at steel mills and iron furnaces, and orders already booked assuring full forces at work for the next six to nine months. Immediate deliveries of special lines command premiums, but these transactions are the exception, and shipments go forward freely on old orders at regular list prices. The present situation is much more propitious for continued activity than at the corresponding date two years ago, for the very reason that prices were then inflated from 30 to 50 per cent. beyond the present legitimate position."

THE MENACE OF A RUSSIAN CHINA

BY AN AMERICAN IN CHINA

The United States is now and will continue to be a great power in the adjustment and direction of the world's politics. Heretofore we have prided ourselves on our ability to avoid international complications and foreign wars; but the time has come when we can no longer avoid taking part in some of the great political problems of the world.

Our expanding industrial interests, our great accumulation of capital, that will soon require fields beyond our present national lines for operation, the substantial moral quality of our people, and our faith in ourselves and in our form of government, are all driving us onward into the problems of nations. If our type of people and government is a success, if we have worked out principles of government best suited to the social progress and elevation of humanity, an ocean barrier cannot stop our advance.

The decay of the political forces of China and her inability to cope with the pressure of other nations about her, and the immediate danger of her dismemberment, together with our growing commercial interests there, and the fact that we are nearer her shores than any other great nation, brings us into the adjustment of the affairs of China, even against our inclinations. A casual student even of the Chinese question readily discovers that one of two things must happen there now: either a reorganization of the Chinese government, sustained and directed by foreign powers, or partition by these powers.

The poverty, ignorance, superstition and low, cheap, animal life of the masses of China are not under-

stood nor known, nor can they well be measured by the people of the United States. The millions of China are fitted well to perpetuate their race and maintain themselves in the ignorant and degraded quality of their lives. Patriotism is unknown and intense animal selfishness is the dominating characteristic of their social and political systems. They are fitted by centuries of political slavery and inculcation of social doctrines of non-resistance, or, as they call it, "of submission of brute force to intellect and moral suasion," to become the most abject slaves. The political methods of all the rulers of China to-day, and the perpetuation of most of her laws, need only be maintained by any new power in order to sustain a system of slavery that will make her millions, by whatsoever power controlled, a menace to the industrial, social and political civilizations of a higher order.

In industry the cheap man, the low man socially, is the one who pulls down the wages of those above him, and it is plain that the millions of China trained in industry, surrounded by undeveloped natural wealth, as great as in any part of the globe, with food products cheaper than any, climatic conditions the most favorable, living in straw or mud huts with mud floors without furniture; with pigs, geese, ducks, chickens, etc., as their room companions, and on a diet that costs about two (gold) cents per day, these people, when trained to compete with our more highly paid and higher type of man, will certainly pull down his standard of living, when their products enter side by side in the world's markets.

China can spare to-day more labor to work for the world than any country. Labor is so completely unorganized, as far as its productiveness is concerned, that there are few countries in the world that produce so little in proportion to their population and natural

resources. Give to China the modern machinery, the organizing skill of foreign directors of industry, and a political domination behind it such as Russia and France combined could give, these millions of virtual slaves are sure to become a menace to the free and higher civilizations of other nations.

I know it is argued that the Chinese family or clan system will interfere with their economic production, and that in handling machinery they are not equal to our higher paid help. Both of these things are true in a sense; but each is easily overcome. The political domination of a despotic power would make short work of one, and industrial training would soon remedy the other without doing anything to elevate their standard of living. Where has the Chinaman been tried under proper skilled direction and failed? In the brick tea factories in Hankow, in the albumen factories, in the cotton and silk mills in Shanghai, and other places, under skilled direction, there is a continued improvement in their productive power.

The Chinaman has not been a failure in California, but on the other hand has displayed great skill and ability, which, combined with his inexpensive living, makes a serious pressure on labor there in many kinds of work. The Chinese are as shrewd merchants as can be found anywhere, as is shown by the fact that foreigners do not even do the business of providing the wants of the foreign population, and foreigners do not penetrate into the business of China except through the Chinese compradore; but while the Chinaman's skill in trade is perfect he has no capacity for industrial or military organization. There is in this race a great yellow peril; but the elements of danger are not all combined in the one race. The lack of patriotism, the lack of organizing and directing power in industry and war, and their small amount of courage, combined with

almost universal superstition, relieves the world of any danger in war and industry from the Chinaman alone; but these very characteristics which prevent him from being a source of military danger, all fit him most completely to become the slave of other people, possessing the necessary elements of power to make him a truly great source of danger to the highest and best of the world's present civilizations.

Japan has shown marvellous progress in a few years, and her onward movement has increased our trade and commerce with her, as well as our faith in the elevation of inferior races. What is to become of her civilization as soon as Russia gets a little stronger hold on China?

China has not the strength in any form, neither in the patriotism, courage nor force of character of its masses, nor of the leaders, longer to maintain an independent nation. One of two results is now inevitable, further delay cannot be maintained, and the United States is called upon now to decide which of these two will come to pass. Either the integrity of China must be maintained, or the partition of it amongst the various powers is at hand.

Whatever policy at present may be announced by Russia, it is plain to the most casual observer of her progress in Asia that she is laying her plans deep and strong to dominate eventually all of China.

The control of China by any single power is clearly detrimental to the future interests and hopes of our country in Asia, and more particularly so if that power be Russia. Russia already controls an area equal to one-sixth of the earth's surface. Her population is nearly double that of the United States, and is increasing by permanent birth rate at the rate of over two millions per annum, being the most progressive state in the civilized world in population.

The maintenance of the Chinese race under the domination of Russia is the greatest danger to the expansion of American trade and commerce.

What does the interest of the United States require should become of China?

It is our duty now, from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest, to assist in preserving the liberty of China; to join with other powers in maintaining her integrity and the open door, and to see to it that there is established over China a government that will give her freedom of education and religion, of science and industry, that will lift from her people the pressure of superstition, ignorance, poverty and despotism that are holding them down and preventing their true development.

China as a national power is dead, and her people must be resurrected, renovated and sustained by the highest and strongest and best of the civilized nations of the world.

With this help a new life can be given to China, and her social, industrial, religious and political life elevated, until she will become an aid rather than a danger to the higher civilizations. Her people will be given education that will supplant superstition, provide better homes, better food, a cleaner, purer and better life in every way; a liberty and culture of thought and action that will develop courage and patriotism and fill the people with desires for a broader and higher social life, and plant within their hearts and minds a greater respect for the present and higher hopes for the future. Many of her bright sons are longing and hoping for this condition to be brought about. Not all of her progressive sons have lost their heads, although hundreds have been chopped off.

As a sample of what we may have to contend with

in competing with these people let us look at wages in China.

In the interior of China wages are as follows:

Common help is paid from three to five Mexican dollars per month, or a daily average of 100 cash;* skilled mechanics, carpenters, masons, etc., per day, 160 cash. In the albumen factory at Hankow women who do satisfactory work receive, per day, 100 cash; men, 130 cash; on railroad work, per day, 150 cash.

Compare these wages with wages in Shanghai, where there is free play of industrial forces, and no interference of the Chinese officials with wages:

Common coolies, per day, 170 cash; carpenters, etc., 240 cash; women in cotton mills and silk fillature, 160 cash; machine hands, men, per day, 400 cash; stationary engineers, from 400 to 800 cash.

In the machine shops and ship docks at Shanghai wages are as follows:

Blacksmiths, from \$3.00 to \$6.00 Mexican per week; moulders, \$3.00 to \$7.00 Mexican per week; boiler makers, from \$5.00 to \$12.00 Mexican per week; fitters, from \$5.00 to \$14.00 Mexican per week.

Railroad engineers in charge of engines receive from thirty to seventy Mexican dollars per month.

There has been a steady and healthy rise in wages in all the treaty ports under a rule of no interference of government officials.

Under an enlightened system of education, an honest government, and a progressive industrial and social condition that should be established in China, her civilization should rise to a point where it would not endanger the standard of wages of other countries.

As an example of the Russian system of treatment of labor, the following edicts of the Russian civil administrator may answer:

"Ngao, Imperial Russian controller of the port of Yingk'ou and superintendent of customs, etc., hereby issues this proclamation for the information of all those connected with oil manufactories in this port. I have been informed by the local guild that a certain Wu Wang-tze, in

*Eight cash equal one Mexican cent.

conjunction with others, has influenced all the employees of oil manufactories, and they have already struck work three days in order to compel their employers to increase the wages of the strikers. Now, I find that increased wages have already been granted three times to said employees, namely, once before the year last; once last year; and again in the 5th moon (June-July) of the present year. How is it, then, that I find another attempt is being made to compel another increase in the wages of these oil manufactory employees?

"Now, according to the laws of Imperial Russia, the leaders of any movement—such as causing a general strike, a stoppage of labor, or closing the markets and shops—are sentenced to the same punishment as those guilty of rebellion, whilst their followers are also punished very severely. I, the superintendent, therefore have, on the one hand, given orders for the arrest and punishment of the said Wu Wang-tze, the leader of the said strike, and those with him, and now issue the present proclamation calling upon all employees of oil manufactories to resume work to-morrow morning at the latest. Should any one disobey my commands, he will be instantly arrested and most severely punished. He will then, finally, be banished from the precincts of this port and will not be allowed to linger a single moment in Ying'ou.

"Let all, therefore, carefully obey this proclamation. Do not transgress.

"Issued this 27th year of Kuang Hsu, 7th day of the 6th moon (27th July, 1901)."

"Ngao, Imperial Russian controller of the port of Ying'ou (Newchwang) and superintendent of customs, etc., hereby issues the following proclamation for the information of all the merchants and people of the port:

"As this port has now reverted to the control of the Imperial Russian government, all you who have matters in dispute and the like should bring your petitions to the superintendent's or other government offices, where redress can be obtained, and cases settled in perfect justice and impartiality.

"Of late, however, there have been frequent instances of native merchants and people who have disputes on hand instead of coming straight to the superintendent's yamen for justice, they pray for assistance from foreign merchants of other nationalities or go to missionaries, plainly showing by such conduct gross ignorance of the fact that merchants of all nationalities come simply to trade, and nothing else, whilst the sole duty of missionaries is to disseminate the tenets of their respective religious faiths. Each has his duty to do, peculiar to his own profession; but none of the above mentioned people possess authority to interfere in other people's affairs, which is the prerogative of the Russian imperial government.

"You people are, therefore, hereby warned that, from this date onwards, whenever you have disputes, no matter what they may be, you must come for redress and settlement either to this yamen, or to the Judge's yamen, or to the police station; you are forbidden from again appealing for help to foreign merchants or missionaries. By doing so you cannot obtain any advantages, but instead you will incur the displeasure of the authorities and render yourselves liable to suspicion.

"If, after the issuance of these presents, there be found any person disobeying this proclamation, I will surely punish the delinquent severely and will exercise no mercy. 'Be most careful. Do not say by-and-by that you have had no notice.' A special proclamation."

Only by the firm hand of the responsible races, says Mr. Benjamin Kidd, can the assurance of uninterrupted progress be conveyed to the undeveloped countries.

The question which the United States is called upon to solve now, and the call will be louder and more urgent each succeeding year, is: Should we permit Russia to enslave China?

Shall we submit to four hundred millions of slaves, being worked with foreign machinery, capital and skill, entering into competition with the free and enlightened labor of America in the world's markets, or shall we demand that the integrity of China, including Manchuria, be maintained? Shall a wise and progressive government be established and sustained that will give to China a chance to educate and elevate her people and develop her industries, keeping open the door free to American energy as to all the nations?

The time is not far distant when American capital and American skill will need the opportunity to enter the mineral fields of China to establish various manufacturing plants and aid in the general industrial progress of the country. Is it wise for us now to sit still and allow China to be forced into conceding all mining rights in Manchuria to Russia, to be followed no doubt by further demands of a similar nature in other quarters.

Must we allow Russia and France, by investments in railroads, to secure exclusive mining and trading rights over all of China, dominate the country, enslave the people, annihilate our trade, and exclude us from any voice in the future of China?

In 1896 Russia arranged with China to build what is known as the Chinese eastern railways connecting the main Siberian railway with the Gulf of Pechili.

In 1898 Russia arranged a treaty with China by which she secured a great naval station at Port Arthur, and an open sea terminus for her Siberian railroad at Talienwan, where she has spent several millions of dollars in an effort to establish a great commercial city. Under the cover of a name known as the Belgian Syndicate, Russia is building the railroad from Peking to Hankow, and has acquired the concession to build from Hankow to Canton. She has taken possession of the railroad from Newchwang to Shanhaikuan, and from there it will be an easy matter to make connections with Peking, thus giving her railroad connection from St. Petersburg to Peking, and an extension through the heart of China to Canton, and if followed as closely with her army as in northern China this will give her control of all China.

Russia is borrowing money from France to project these railroads in China, and from all appearances they are becoming the foundations for Russia's future greatness in Asia.

If in four years' time her railroad projects in North China made it possible for her to capture and secure in her administration the rich provinces of Manchuria, how long will it take her now, with her other lines projected and in course of construction, to capture China from Peking to Canton? With Russia, army, navy and trade follow her railway investments. By her railway investments, supported and followed by the flags

of her army and navy, she tramples down the trade of England, Japan and America. She captures a country as rich in trade and future possibilities for investment of capital, and creation of wealth, as any on the globe.

With a trade in Manchuria in 1899 of twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-three taels, in 1890 she takes over to herself entirely the whole of Manchuria and collects at Newchwang alone a tax that in 1899 amounted to over one million four hundred thousand taels, or two million and one hundred thousand Mexican dollars.

The imports of the United States into Newchwang in 1899 were over six and a half million taels. How much will they be in 1906 under the control of Russia, with her growing tariff antagonism to America?

Russia possesses all the natural elements for the creation of wealth within her own lines, and has no idea of dividing trade in Asia with anyone unless it be with France and Germany.

Russia in control of China eliminates the United States from all influence and benefits.

There is no part of China so well fitted for development of natural resources as Manchuria. It contains forests of hardwood, pine and fir; lime, coal, salt and iron in immense quantities, and in such close proximity to the sea as to make their production and transportation to all parts of China and the Pacific a matter of the most perfect economy. Russia is already developing these coal mines, and in her late treaty efforts with China endeavored to secure the exclusive rights to all mining and railroad construction in Manchuria. In addition to these advantages, there are many gold, silver and copper mines in various sections, and all these are combined with the most lavish vegetable production, that gives the cheapest and best variety of food to be found in the empire. The marvellous

diversity of mineral and vegetable productions of Manchuria, its splendid climate, vigorous and healthy race of fifteen millions of people, make it a most desirable acquisition to Russia as an addition to her already strong position on the Pacific.

No one can blame Russia for wanting it and for wanting to shut out the trade of England, Japan and the United States, but she has as much right to take all of China, and drive us entirely out of the country, as she has to Manchuria, and, if unopposed, will eventually succeed.

After securing Manchuria she will only be the stronger, and can press her further desires from a stronger base and with a better prospect for success.

In Manchuria she can maintain an army and navy so strong as to make her further domination of China only a question of time. What country can stop her progress in China after she has had five years to perfect her plans in Manchuria?

The surrender of this territory now means to her the supreme control in China.

This is a critical period in the foreign relations of our country. A failure to act now in a firm way, to sustain the integrity and open door to all of China, means that we are out of the country for all time, that we must retire before the forces of the czar, and that his civilization, instead of ours and Great Britain's, will rule in Asia.

TRUE TEST OF PROSPERITY

From the point of view of free-trade economics, much that appears in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE is rank heresy. The address printed in the *Lecture Bulletin* of December 2nd, on "Our Industrial Foreign Policy," and recent issues of the Magazine, seem to have been sinning grievously in this respect. A gentleman well-grounded in the classical doctrine appears to have encountered some recent numbers of these publications, and is moved to dispel the fallacy of the protection doctrine. His first impulse was to send the refutation to the *New York Times*, but, with the spirit of the true missionary, he decided that it was the sinners, not the saints, that should be called to repentance, and to contribute Manchester doctrine to the columns of the *Times* would be like carrying coals to Newcastle; but, in the pages of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, it would be as the white light of truth in the realms of darkness. With this disinterested motive, he induces a subscriber to ask us to publish the following document, accompanying the request, however, with grave doubts that GUNTON'S could afford to introduce its readers to such a conclusive exposure of protectionist doctrine and statement of the obvious truth of free trade. With all the risks involved, we print the essay. Here it is:

"Trade in substance always consists of an exchange of goods. Such exchange may be by a direct exchange or barter of the goods, or, as is commonly the case, it may be made by an exchange of goods for money, and the subsequent application of such money to the purchase or creation of other goods. In the latter case the money is merely the medium by which the exchange is effected.

"The profit or gain from trade consists simply in the increase in the value of goods, arising from their greater availability because of change of ownership. If the goods received by A are worth more to him than the goods given by him to B in exchange, then he has made a profit to that extent by the transaction, and the same rule applies to B. It may,

of course, develop that neither party has been benefitted, or, on the other hand, only one party may prove to have been benefitted, but in the latter case such gain is as likely to be on one side of the transaction as on the other. In most cases, however, the profit from trade is mutual, and that is the general purpose of trade, since nobody engages knowingly in a transaction from which he can obtain no benefit. The business world is not made that way, and the theory that trade is a sort of plundering of one side by the other, while very old, is manifestly absurd.

"In regard to the profit derived from such exchange of goods, it is wholly immaterial whether such exchange be between citizens of the same country or of different countries. The question is in no way one of nationality.

"Of course, if one country, as a whole, receives more goods from another than it can offset by exchange of its own products, the balance must be paid in money; but money is worth no more than its equivalent in goods, and hence the country receiving the money is no more benefitted by it than it would have been by receipt of goods. Moreover, no country can for any considerable time import more goods than it exports, as the supply of money necessary to meet the balance would soon run short, and the rate of foreign exchange rise, in consequence, to a height that would render further imports impracticable.

"As the benefit from trade is entirely mutual, the theory that a payment for goods, if made in money, is pure profit to the receiver of such payment, is quite childlike in its fallaciousness. Excepting in form, such payment in no way differs from a payment in goods, and this principle is as true of dealings between different countries as between people of the same country. The money received by one country from another, to balance its trade with the latter, is merely a payment for goods of equal value, and neither party is either richer or poorer because the payment is made in that way rather than in goods.

"Every country, of course, seeks foreign as well as domestic trade; but it does so, not because the trade is foreign or domestic, but simply because it is trade.

"WILLIAM H. WILLIS,

"115 Broadway, New York City."

It will be observed that Mr. Willis' argument rests upon a single proposition: namely, that all trade is for mutual gain. Therefore, so long as the trade yields a net gain to the contracting parties, it is wholly immaterial whether it is domestic or foreign, or what kind of goods a nation produces, or whether the payment is in goods or money. This is good Manchester school doctrine, but the fatal objection to it is that it is true

only of static society. It neglects all the conditions and influences of dynamic society, and hence is out of touch with progressive civilization. If it were true that the social condition of all people remained the same, it would indeed be wholly immaterial whether their trade was domestic or foreign, whether they were occupied in hewing wood and digging coal, or were employed in the diversified manufacturing and artistic industries.

If the only object and effect of industrial life was to exchange products to immediate advantage, this would be true. But that is only a part of the case. Much the more important factor in the problem is the prosperity and progress of society. It is now a recognized principle in economics and political science that human progress depends on industrial and social variation; that uniformity and monotony tend to stereotyped habits, methods and ideas, while a diversification of experience stimulates action and differentiation of desires, methods and habits, and a progressive type of society.

Mutual gain by exchange of products is an elementary fact in all society. It may exist under the crudest barbarism without contributing in any perceptible degree to progress: witness China, India and the most backward countries of Europe. Whether trade tends to promote progress or to stereotype society depends upon the conditions under which it takes place. From the point of view of political science and civilization, the test of true statesmanship is whether the policy of the nation tends to create conditions under which trade and industry will tend to greater diversification or to a stereotyped uniformity. Whatever tends to stereotype uniformity in economic methods and social habits tends to arrest progress and prevent the increase of wealth, and whatever tends to diversify industrial meth-

ods and social ideas promotes progress and increases the wealth and welfare of society.

There never was, in the history of the human race, a purely agricultural nation which came to the front in civilization, because the nature of the primitive industries prevents the development of the kind of social life which stimulates progress and improvement in architecture, or sanitation, science and social culture. The social life behind the simple industries never furnishes a large demand for diversified products. Those who live a simple life use few things. Using few things, they furnish the smallest opportunity and incentive to the use of capital, or the application of science to their methods of production and social life. There is nothing in the doctrine that trade is mutually advantageous to alter this for the better in any country. On the contrary, that doctrine, applied in a purely political *laissez-faire* way, would doom any nation so situated to perpetual backwardness in civilization. It is under such conditions that sound economics, political science and statesmanship come to the aid of society, by adopting a public policy which, through protection to market opportunity, shall so alter the conditions of exchange as to stimulate industrial diversification. Progress demands not merely profitable trade, but that the conditions of the profitable trade shall be such as to induce better methods and higher types of industrial and social life.

With every step in this direction comes the possibilities of invention, profitable investment in new methods, and hence cheaper wealth, larger incomes, higher wages and a superior standard of social life. Each individual bargain might not be more profitable under the latter than under the former conditions, but each bargain would become more numerous, more economical, and conduce more to the prosperity and prog-

ress of the nation. Protection, intelligently applied, furnishes this opportunity which the home producers might never be able to acquire in competition with a country already advanced in the methods of manufacture. If the market is large, the self-interest of the domestic capitalist is to use the very best methods and machinery that the world affords, even if they have to be imported. In the effort thus to supply the domestic market new industries are created. The diversification of the industries, which soon leads to a diversification of social life, has begun. This, in the nature of things, soon increases the demand for goods, and in turn the increased product and the greater distribution of wealth in wages, and so, through these social forces, acting upon the economic conditions, the total consumption and production *per capita* of the community is constantly multiplied.

This has been the history of progress for more than a thousand years. No country has advanced in manufacture and civilization without protecting the opportunities of its people to diversify their industries. It has not always been done with this idea; it has not always been done intelligently and wisely even with this idea, but no considerable progress in wealth, power and civilization has ever come to any country except under influences which create these conditions. The United States is perhaps the most conspicuous example of this policy, because it has been more generally and consistently applied. There is scarcely a manufacturing industry in this country that could have existed to-day if it had always been subject to the *laissez-faire* policy which the theory of Mr. Willis represents. We should never have been able to manufacture steel rails, nor armor plates, nor locomotives, nor factory machinery, nor tin plate, nor glass, nor pottery, nor hardly anything really significant, because at any given time it

would have been unprofitable to do so under the pressure of free foreign competition. It is more than probable that under those circumstances the prices of all manufactured products would have been much higher than they are to-day, because the incentive for improvements in machinery and methods would not have arisen.

In the first place, if the manufacturing industries had not been developed in this country, our population would have been chiefly engaged in the crude industries, and very little of our city life would have been developed. A few seaboard cities would have constituted the bulk of our urban population; the standard of living would have been lower and the consumption of products would have been incomparably smaller. The demand for railroads would have been very slight and, as a market for the great products of civilization, we would have been insignificant, just as is the case in South America or Russia, or any other country where primitive habits prevail.

Thus, nearly all that the United States has contributed in the way of wealth production, economic improvements in social life, and political experiment would have been practically lost to the world. If England had continued to furnish our manufactures, nobody would have furnished what America has contributed. But when we adopted the doctrine of a dynamic economic policy instead of the static, and protected the American market as an opportunity for the experimentation and development of economic devices and industrial diversification, we created practically a new world in economic development. We not only produced steel rails, but we produced them ultimately better than, and practically as cheap as, England herself. And by our improvements we have enabled England to produce them at less than half the price she did when she

supplied us. This is true of a multitude of products, and is becoming more and more true every year. We can now make better engines and cheaper; we can make tin plate as good and about as cheap, in fact we can do almost everything as well and many things better, produce most things as cheap, many of them cheaper, than any other country. In doing all this we have developed a new nation which has contributed more to human progress in the last third of a century than any other country, all of which would have been impossible without the application of the protective principle to the opportunity for the dynamic conditions of national life. The existence of the industry and its influence upon the character of the people is more important to prosperity and progress than the mere profits in the business itself. There may be profits and stereotyped barbarism, but diversified industry and social activity make profit consistent with progress.

The real place where progress must begin, and from which higher and better attributes must emanate, is home growth. Foreign commerce of any significance must necessarily be the consequence of domestic expansion. There never can be any large demand *per capita* for foreign commerce unless there is a highly diversified home consumption, and this can never arise without comparatively diversified domestic industry. Simple domestic industry always means simple social life and meager consumption; and, *vice versa*, the nation that seeks foreign commerce by neglecting home industry stultifies national progress. For instance, suppose this country could double or treble its foreign trade by lowering its wage rate to foreign conditions (and this is commonly advocated); that would destroy home consumption to a far greater extent than all the advantage of the foreign trade. A reduction of only five cents a day for all who work for a living in this country would take over \$341,-

000,000 out of the national consumption. Now a ten per cent. profit on the total exports and imports for 1901 would only amount to \$231,042,857, or about \$110,000,000 less than the loss from a five-cent-a-day reduction in home earnings. In other words, this reduction of five cents a day would entail a loss in American consumption and welfare and stimulus to business greater by \$110,000,000 than the entire profits at ten per cent. on the whole imports and exports of 1901, the greatest commercial year in our history.

This whole idea that because all trade is profitable all the conditions of trade are immaterial to progress is a negative half truth, and is unscientific as a theory of national economics and commerce, because it takes account only of the results of trade and neglects the causes that make profitable trade possible. Therefore, to the extent that it is adopted, it paralyzes statesmanship and stultifies progress. The idea that the balance of trade between nations is a matter of entire indifference is another part of this negative theory which Mr. Willis thinks much of. He says:

"As the benefit from trade is entirely mutual, the theory that a payment for goods, if made in money, is pure profit to the receiver of such payment, is quite childlike in its fallaciousness."

Indeed it is, and the suggestion that anybody ever believed it is juvenile indeed. Nobody of standing ever put forward anything so absurd in favor of protection. But one is tempted to ask: If the balance of trade is of no account, why is it that every country tries to procure the balance of trade, and is delighted when it gets it, and why do the free traders in this country put forth that fact as evidence of our over-mastering superiority and proof that we no longer need protection? Quite recently the *New York Times* had an extended editorial on this point, proclaiming the balance of trade in favor of the United States as the great

accomplishment of our progress, and showing that we are about to become, if we have not already become, a creditor instead of a debtor nation. Even Mr. Willis admits that :

“No country can for any considerable time import more goods than it exports, as the supply of money necessary to meet the balance would soon run short and the rate of foreign exchange rise in consequence to a height that would render further imports impracticable.”

Does he realize what this means? In this he is simply saying that when a country has to pay money instead of goods for its imports, it is put to the disadvantage of having not only to furnish the money but to pay a higher rate of exchange, which means interest on the funds to pay. This, he admits, would soon drain a country of its money and destroy the profits, and, indeed, diminish the principal employed in such trade; or, as he says, “render further imports impracticable.” That is simply another way of saying that the loss would soon be so great that it could not be endured. If that be true, is it immaterial to a country whether its trade balance is for or against it? Moreover, when a nation pays for its imports in goods, it has the advantage of the industrial and social influence of producing the goods, the expenditure of the wages and the profits of the industries, whereas, when it has to pay in money, it loses all this and pays a rate of exchange besides.

Mr. Willis is entirely right in saying that all trade is between individuals and not between countries, and that foreign trade is sought not because it is foreign but because it is trade, and because it is profitable. All that is true. But that in no way diminishes the effect of the other truth: namely, that the development of domestic industries is of vital importance to the prosperity, progress and civilization of the nation. Domestic and foreign trade may be equally profitable so far

as individual bargains are concerned, but their effect upon the welfare of the nation will depend very largely upon how they affect the character of the domestic industries. Therein lies the philosophic importance of the protective as against the *laissez-faire* theory of public policy. It is not that protection turns trade away from one country toward another, but that by protecting domestic opportunities it creates new industries and new forces and practically new nations. Thus a net addition is made to the world's welfare through the development of industries and economic methods that could never have come into existence under the *laissez-faire* policy, which on the other hand would have stereotyped the primitive industries and type of social life.

THE INVENTOR'S WORLD OF MARVELS

GEORGE ETHELBERG WALSH

When the complete history of invention has been written, it will inevitably prove a popular book because of the innumerable chapters of a romantic nature that must of necessity adorn its pages. The modern word invention comes from the Latin *invenire*, which literally translated means to come or stumble upon by chance, and the early application of it to denote the accidental discoveries of useful contrivances was peculiarly apropos.

Invention was not an art or science in the days of the early discoverers of laws and principles that have since revolutionized the material world, and the so-called inventions were all accidental or fortuitous in their origin. The professional inventor of to-day applies himself to the study of certain mechanical laws and necessities for the avowed purpose of discovering or inventing something new that will simplify old methods of labor and production, and the products of his inventive mind have less of the accidental about them than was formerly the case. Invention has to a certain extent become a legitimate profession, and it is a science or art that requires the cooperation of a mind peculiarly endowed with rare qualities and the accumulated wisdom of the ages.

There are purely fortuitous discoveries and inventions to-day, and some of them are of the greatest importance in the material world; but the great bulk of the inventions come from the laboratories and machine shops, where trained inventive minds daily apply themselves to the task before them. Intelligent experiments along certain lines are constantly being pursued

by the world's brightest minds, and the ends which they have in view are generally pretty clearly foreseen. Accidental discoveries will often be made while in pursuit of a particular idea or invention, and these may be set down as among the fortuitous inventions of the present age.

Prior to the present century of material progress and invention the great discoveries were nearly all the products of chance observation. The story of the boy watching the steam forcing up the lid of a cooking vessel, which suggested to him the power of steam, and the account of Newton establishing the existence of gravitation through the falling of an apple, are familiar popular illustrations of how the great discoveries of the past were made in an accidental manner. Faraday, the great scientist and inventor, himself confessed that the fortuitous discovery made by rubbing a piece of amber released "an invisible agent which has done for mankind far more wonderful things than the genie of Aladdin did or could have done for him." The discoverer of gunpowder was as much startled by what he had done as the world which soon heard of it. A child actually first discovered the magnifying power of two lenses placed at certain distances apart, and its father, being an optician, took the suggestion up and produced the first telescope out of a tube of pasteboard. The manufacture of leaden shot by dropping molten lead from a high altitude was discovered by chance, and Arkwright obtained his idea of spinning by rollers by chance observation.

The list of ancient discoveries and inventions produced fortuitously could be extended indefinitely, and even those of modern times produced accidentally would make a formidable list. But most of these latter were also directly attributable to the genius and hard work of the inventors. Thus Professor Roëntgen would

never have discovered his marvelous X-rays had he not been experimenting in a dark room with a Crooke's vacuum tube. Neither would Edison have invented the phonograph had he not experimented over and over again with the telephone, which one day accidentally set him thinking when the vibration of his voice had sent the fine steel point of the mouthpiece into his finger.

The modern inventor and discoverer of new laws of the material and mechanical world is a man who pursues his profession with the same steadfast purpose that a physician or lawyer devotes to his calling. The day of the purely fortuitous invention has mostly passed. Even the inventor of the small things which amuse or supply a long-felt want is usually one who has devoted years to the study and experiment of certain lines of work. The inventor of the simple puzzle called "pigs in clover," which had a remarkable run and netted a small fortune to its discoverer, spent nearly a lifetime in making popular games and puzzles before he hit upon the thing that made his reputation. He was a genius in this particular line, and he applied himself assiduously to the invention of new games and toys. Sam Lloyd, according to his own account, studied mechanics in all its branches, and, while gifted with certain ingenuity which enabled him to see patentable ideas, he pursued his studies as steadily and persistently as if he were working out a mathematical demonstration.

Modern inventing has become a profitable and lucrative profession for those who have the inventive faculty and the willingness to pursue it as others do a business or practice. The world owes much to the inventors of the age, but if our life and method of living have been revolutionized and improved by their ideas their rewards have been ample. The successful owner of a popular patent receives remunerations that are

almost princely. Some of the ideas seem ludicrously out of all proportion to the money reward given, but there is usually a law of compensation in all things.

The inventors of important machinery and labor-saving devices that have been only poorly rewarded in money have died with a reputation that will forever cling about their names, while the discoverers of some of the little useful articles that have made hundreds of thousands of dollars for them are unknown to the mass of readers. The inventor of the metal shoe-button fastener, which does away with the old slow method of sewing the buttons on by hand, made an enormous fortune from his patent, and the inventor of the wooden shoe-peg made half a million dollars. The invention of the suspender garter was sold outright for \$50,000, and the discoverer of the glass lemon squeezer received about the same sum for his idea. The ball and socket glove fastener is often quoted to show the large fortunes that are sometimes found in small inventions. The inventor of this patent is said to have received in royalties nearly a million dollars, and the discoverer of the double ball clasp for pocket-books and bags has reaped nearly as large a fortune. The automatic inkstand has paid its inventor over \$200,000 in the short time since its introduction, and the invention of the modern automatic tin-can openers brought an independent fortune to its fortunate discoverer. The inventor of such a simple thing as the modern shipping tag, with its patent ring for preventing the string from tearing out, received hundreds of thousands of dollars. The little brass paper clip fastener, the improved safety pin, the rubber pencil tip, the hook and eye, with a hump to prevent slipping, the automatic lock and brake, the bicycle whistle and bell, and scores of other inventions of a similar nature, have rewarded their discoverers amply in the coin of the realm.

Although many of these apparently simple inventions were discovered by chance, most of the inventors were either long associated with the work in hand, or had come to realize the necessity of some such invention to save time and labor. Necessity is the mother of invention, to-day as always. The idea that fortuitous inventions have formed a prominent part in the world's industrial and material development has induced some to attempt the invention of useful articles without any previous experience or preparation. They have trusted to blind chance, and have failed. Accidental discoveries cannot be taken in the literal sense, for very few indeed have ever been the product of an untrained and unobserving mind. A mechanic who has spent half a lifetime in one department of human endeavor may see the great need of a simple invention to save time or labor in his work. Year by year his mind dwells at intervals upon the subject, and one day an idea flashes upon his mind or a simple accident suggests the way of inventing what is needed. Such an accidental invention is really the result of years of study and observation, and it is thus that many of the simple inventions have come into existence.

The great inventors of the world, who hold a foremost position in popular estimate because of the widespread effect of their patented ideas in revolutionizing industries and modern life, have not always been as freely and amply rewarded in money as their benefactions to the race justified. Many of the early ones died comparatively poor, and others spent the sums they received in royalties in making new experiments. The pecuniary rewards had little effect upon them, for they were laboring in a field of thought and discovery for the love of the work, and the money considerations were only the incidentals of their life. The improvement of the patent laws, both in this country and in

England, has made it possible for a great inventor to reap a fortune from his patents, while at the same time laboring in the interests of humanity. Consequently few, if any, of the modern inventors of note have failed to receive just returns for their discoveries. Had Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph, been born a generation later, he would have made far more money from his great discovery. Honors simply poured upon him in time, but he never realized the independent fortunes from his inventions that subsequent laborers in his field did.

As instances of the pecuniary rewards bestowed upon great inventors in modern times mention should be made of Edison, Tesla, Bell, Thomson, McCormick, Corliss, Colt, Howe, and others. Elias Howe, the inventor of the sewing machine, which has lightened the burdens of the world more than can be expressed in figures, realized fully \$2,000,000 from his patent. But it was only after years of hard struggle to get his patent on the market, and then after a decade in fighting infringers in the courts, that he received the actual reward of his labors. Alexander Graham Bell, whose name is so closely associated with the Bell telephone and multiple telegraphy, made several millions from his numerous patents. Cyrus Hall McCormick, the inventor of the reaping machine, left an enormous estate at his death in 1884. It was estimated in 1859 that his invention saved the country at least \$55,000,000 per annum, and in view of this no one can begrudge him the ten odd millions of profits he made as the result of his reaper. George Henry Corliss, the inventor of the famous Corliss engine, which revolutionized the construction of the engine and saved enough fuel to more than double the capacity of any machine, amassed an immense fortune, variously estimated at \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000. Samuel Colt, of the Colt revolver fame,

which it has been said paved the way for the easy conquest of Mexico by the American soldiers, realized an ample fortune from his invention, and died in 1862 a very rich man. Hayward A. Harvey, the inventor of the Harveyized steel armor plate process, brought fame and honor to his country by his invention, and even to-day the Harveyized steel armor plates stand without a peer. Mr. Harvey died in 1893, the possessor of a fortune that placed him in the millionaire class, and his patents are still accumulating money for his heirs.

There is a group of three living inventors to-day whose names are household words, and whose inventions are accumulating fortunes for them every year. Thomas Alva Edison is probably the best known, and there stands to his credit such important inventions as the phonograph, duplex and quadruplex telegraphy, the carbon transmitter telephone, the incandescent lamp, the electric railroad, the electrophone, the motograph, the megaphone, the phonoplex telegraph, the electric pen, the kinetograph, the magnetic ore separator, the fluoroscope, the new vacuum light, and numerous others. One does not wonder, with so many important discoveries to his credit, that Mr. Edison counts his fortune in the seven figures. He is probably the most important inventor of the century in the matter of revolutionizing industries by his inventions. A second member of this group, who is hardly less generally known, is the tall, thin Austrian, who has come to live in our midst to work out problems that scientists all over the world dared not touch. Nikola Tesla is not a past but a present and future star in the firmament of inventors, and from his laboratories come now and then the hint of wonders that his brain has conceived and his hand wrought out in material form. Tesla is a true inventor of the old school, laboring for the love of his work and careless of the pecuniary rewards, but these

latter are flowing in upon him at a rate that must be extremely gratifying. It is said that if he would devote his inventive genius to the discovery and manufacturing of articles of general industrial use he could amass several millions in a few years, but he prefers to labor in his own way, working out intricate problems of electricity that may never return him much pecuniary reward.

Elihu Thomson, the third member of this group of modern living inventors, was associated with Professor Edwin J. Houston for many years, and their combined inventions of electric dynamos were put into practical working use under the company's name of Thomson-Houston electric works. He was the inventor of electric welding and brazing, and his experiments with alternate current induction, and his application of the air blast to switches and commutators for blowing away destructive arcs, have won for him world-wide renown and a great fortune. Westinghouse, the inventor of the air-brake which bears his name, should be included in the list of latter-day inventors who reaped immense fortunes from the direct application of their genius.

IS CUBA "STARVING"?

Is Cuba "starving"? Is the island on the ragged edge of bankruptcy, ready to topple into ruin and starvation if the United States government does not at once grant liberal tariff gratuities, regardless of domestic interests? This is what a suddenly-recruited army of political philanthropists, in an equally sudden spasm of tender sympathy, are asking us to believe, but the concealed purpose grows plainer the longer the sugar trust and free trade experts figure.

The first and most vociferous cry has been that we are under everlasting obligations to help Cuba. To this end our own commercial policies must be ignored. Now we are being exhorted to give Cuba free trade for an additional reason, to keep her from spending her money in the European markets. To bolster up this position more figures are exhibited. We are told that last year Cuba's exports amounted in value to \$75,000,000, that she purchased foreign goods valued at \$66,000,000, and that only \$28,000,000 worth of these goods came from the United States. Further figuring may let in a little more light on the subject. According to the figures given, Cuba sold \$9,000,000 more goods last year than she bought. In other words, in spite of her calamitous condition, the balance of trade was in her favor. A situation like that is not usually considered a foretaste of bankruptcy.

Still more evidence along this line comes to light in the report of the hearings before the ways and means committee for January 15 and 16, 1902. Mr. Edwin F. Atkins is a genuine Bostonian, but he is also a sugar planter in Cuba to the extent of owning about 14,000 acres, and is a partner of Mr. Havemeyer. Mr. Atkins told the committee (page 21 of the report) that: "The

small landed proprietor is generally uneducated and has a family around him there, and he lives the life of a *gentleman of ease*." Of these small landed proprietors there are several thousand in the island.

Mr. Miguel Mendoza is a sugar planter of Havana. On page 66 of the report referred to, Mr. Mendoza throws some light on the industrial situation in the island. He started out quite glibly, picturing a future condition of starvation for the people if relief were not furnished by way of a tariff concession on the part of the United States, but under examination declared that the laboring class in Cuba is all employed, and that there is "plenty of work for the workingmen in Cuba to-day." Returning to the testimony of Mr. Atkins, it appears by his admission that the price of sugar is now more than it was before the war, the present price being nearly four cents a hundred more than it was in 1896.

Mr. Louis V. Place is a Cuban commission merchant from Havana, who appeared before the committee. He told the committee that the employment of labor is now such that any increase in activity on the sugar plantations would make an importation of laborers necessary, and in reply to a question said that the extra laborers would be brought from Spain or the Canaries! The interesting dialogue with Mr. Place will be found on page 97 of the report.

With labor employed up to the limit, with the balance of trade in her favor, with a large population classed as "gentlemen of ease," it would appear that Cuba, without free access to American markets, is in no immediate danger of financial collapse. In fact, it is daily becoming more obvious that most of the uproar over Cuba springs from a purely mercenary motive. Our friend Mr. Atkins, who admitted that he made money in Cuba last year, thinks free trade would give the Cuban planters a chance to compete with the sugar

producers anywhere. Therein lies the real object these people are seeking, and for which they are flooding the country with special literature at great expense. By playing the sympathetic role, the American owners of Cuban plantations and American refiners of imported raw sugar are working for special tariff concessions which will make it immensely profitable for them to invest capital in Cuba and use cheap Cuban labor to supply the American sugar market.

This fact ought to be fully recognized in whatever action is taken on the matter. The fundamental principle of a protective policy is to make it economically advantageous to use American labor at American wages here in the United States, by securing the American market to the products of this kind of industrial enterprise. It is a complete reversal of the protective principle, a step beyond free trade even, to offer American capital special and discriminating inducements to go outside the United States, employ non-American labor at un-American wages, and ship the products into this country to the destruction of a really American competing industry.

It may be advisable to grant some concessions to Cuba, for the sake of those who really need it, despite these unblushing, hypocritical exaggerations of the general conditions in the island. The case ought to be clearly understood in advance, however, for exactly what it is worth. Whatever is granted should be so limited, both in amount of concession and time of duration, as to preserve the opportunities and encourage the possibilities of American capital, labor and agriculture in the American sugar industry; and in no case offer a premium to American capitalists to supplant a wholesome, civilized American industry with the methods and wages of semi-barbarism.

DODGING THE CHILD LABOR ISSUE

The public always has a certain respect for honest error; but to pose as one thing and practice another involves a multitude of difficulties. It necessitates an embarrassing amount of explanation to square conduct with professions. Honesty is not only the best policy, but it is easier, besides often saving one from appearing absurd and sometimes silly. The *Manufacturers' Record* seems to be going through a period of this wasteful experimentation. It thinks it is defending the interests of southern manufacturers by helping to prevent the forces of civilization from reaching the factory operatives in southern mills. It has not the moral courage frankly to announce and defend the policy of opposing shortening of the working day, or fixing an age limit below which children shall not work in the factories. It makes great pretense of being the friend of the operatives, but fumes against and showers abuse upon those who really try to accomplish any practical improvement in their condition. But in trying to perform this difficult task it constantly encounters a peck of trouble. In trying to square its conduct with its pretensions, it finds it necessary to perform a most awkward and laborious amount of evasive dodging.

Some two years ago the editor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE made a tour through the cotton mill sections of the South to investigate the industrial conditions there, both of capital and of labor. He found children as young as seven years of age working eleven and twelve hours a day, and in some instances working nights. There was absolutely no specified age limit at which these babies should commence work in the factories, no provision for education; in short, there was no legal limit whatever to the tender age at which children

could be driven into the factories or to the number of hours a day they should be required to work. This is so utterly at variance with all the experience and instinct of civilization, and so unlike the practice of any other manufacturing community in the world, that we ventured to call attention to it, and suggested that in respect to the minimum age of working children, and the hours of labor in the factories, the South should get in line with civilization, and at least be as humane and progressive as Russia. We called attention to the fact that the South is the only place in the civilized world where the factory operatives, and especially little children, are afforded no protection by the state against the unlimited exactions of the factory corporations. We suggested that, for economic as well as moral reasons, there should be some approximate uniformity in these respects in the different states in this country, such substantial uniformity already existing in all the states outside the South.

Of course this was a mortal offense, and the *Manufacturers' Record* fairly sputtered in its rage. It did not, however, defend the employment of babies and an unlimited working day. It had not the moral courage to do that. But it fell to abusing the editor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for being a northerner, and then rehearsed the hardships of reconstruction, and delivered a panegyric on the lost cause, and ended up with the sublime charge that this was a part of the scheme of New England to ruin the South. Being entirely indifferent to the personal attacks, we suggested that "The abuse of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE is of no moment whatever," but "the question is, are the leaders of public opinion and public policy in the South for or against the ten-hour working day, age limit, and educational opportunity for factory children? If they are for this, they will have the cooperation of the public

sentiment, and press, and leaders of public opinion throughout the country in instituting these reforms in their own way. But, if they insist upon opposing these propositions on the ground of northern interference, the world will believe, and very properly, that their reason is mere subterfuge, and that they are simply appealing to sectional prejudice to cover their real antagonism in the normal progress and improvement in the condition of the operatives in the southern states."

In a subsequent issue, which has just come to our notice, the *Manufacturers' Record* returned to the subject, quoting the first four lines of the above. In reply it says: "This is a piece of impertinence, inexcusable except in the case of GUNTON'S." We appreciate the exception and shall continue to exercise the privilege. It then indulges in more personal abuse, which need not be repeated; and by way of answer to the quoted question it cites a recent article in the William and Mary College Quarterly, setting forth that the movement for the abolition of slavery began in the South.

Just what this has to do with the working of babies in the factories of South Carolina is difficult to see, except it may show that the attitude of the South toward the abolition of slavery was very similar to its present attitude towards limiting the age and working hours of factory children. Whatever Virginia and other southern states did in 1826 to favor the anti-slavery movement, everybody knows that in 1861 they plunged into war to protect and perpetuate slavery. It is equally obvious that, however pretendedly anxious the *Manufacturers' Record* and the southern corporations are to have child labor restricted within the reasonable limits recognized in other civilized communities, they are opposing all the efforts made in that direction. Per-

haps it was to establish this similarity between the anti-slavery movement and the short-hour movement in the South that the long quotation from the William and Mary College Quarterly was given. This is the nearest the *Record* comes to answering the question it copied from these pages, and it closes its article with some ill-natured remarks about half-thinking theorists and wily demagogues interfering with the labor question in the South.

Is it not painful to watch such evasive wriggling and dodging of an important public question? The *Record* does not dare honestly declare its purpose on this subject, and frankly say that it is opposed to fixing a limit to the age and hours of labor of factory children. It wants to be thought to be in favor of this policy, which humanity, decency and civilization demand, while persistently working against it in all the insidious ways that the uncandid employ. But in the long run ingenuity can be distinguished from honesty, and the real object of action cannot be permanently disguised by evasive pretense. Public opinion in the South, created by the efforts of trade unions and women's clubs, and the common sentiment for humanity and social decency, is making its demand for legislative treatment on this subject, especially in regard to the employment of children; and this demand, despite the influence to the contrary of journals like the *Manufacturers' Record*, is reaching the legislatures, and the manufacturers are beginning to see that what they have refused to grant as corporations voluntarily is likely very soon to come in spite of them through legislation.

This fear has led the textile manufacturers of Greenville, South Carolina, to prepare a statement on the subject for the legislature. In this statement they admit the "unfortunate result of the employment of children of tender years," but plead as an excuse that

"it is necessary to support the families," and in proof of their good intentions they set forth that "They encouraged the attendance of children at school, they have aided in the establishment or have established and maintained churches and Sunday schools." As if that were anything to the point. There were churches and Sunday schools when all the laborers were slaves. What the operatives want, and what civilization demands, is that the little children should have an opportunity to attend week day schools. The first step towards giving the children any benefit of schools, week day or Sunday, is to keep them out of the factories, at least until they are 12 or 14 years of age. Then these manufacturers "point with pride" to the fact that the percentage of illiteracy is no greater in factory villages than in other villages in the state. Probably not, since that would be well-nigh impossible. After a good deal of this sort of quibbling, with no particular application to the actual conditions of factory labor, this statement says: "It is to be regretted that the agitation for legislation upon this subject is coming to a large extent from labor unions. . . . We would see with regret the passage of any legislation which would apparently be a recognition of labor unions within the state."

Now all this fencing and circumlocution to avoid directly facing the problem of establishing a humane and civilized working day for the factories is futile. It is useless to cry out against labor unions or against outside interference, or northern malice. It is simply a problem of modern treatment of factory labor. If the manufacturers of the South insist upon resisting this movement towards a rational working day and educational opportunity for factory children, it will repeat its experience of slavery in another form. Civilization will not much longer tolerate in any community a 12-

hour work day and seven-year-old babies in the factories. No state rights, no corporation rights, and no sectional prejudice will suffice to perpetuate that system. If the employers in the South insist upon this policy they will simply find themselves flooded with the worst form of trade unionism. They are already beginning to feel it. Trade unions are cruel and violent, or intelligent and reasonable, according to the conditions in which they exist, and the standard of treatment they receive. Unless the corporations deal with this question voluntarily, or the legislatures deal with it through legal enactment, nothing can prevent a severe agitation by labor unions, probably under arbitrary leadership.

If the South wants to solve this problem in its own way without a national public sentiment being brought to bear upon it, or without a drastic experience with trade unionism or arbitrary populist legislation, there is but one thing to do: namely, voluntarily arrange throughout its factory system a work day, age and educational regulations for children similar to the other states in the union, or at least as liberal as Russia.

In the land of the czar, children under 12 years of age cannot be employed in any industrial establishment, and between the ages of 12 and 15 they may not be employed more than 6 hours out of 24, nor more than 4 hours continuously. Even in Italy, which does the least for factory children of any country in Europe, the employment of minors under 9 years is absolutely prohibited, and between 9 and 12 they cannot be employed more than 8 hours a day. Do the southern press and the southern employers want the South to be behind Russia and Italy in its treatment of factory labor, or does the South want to be reckoned fully abreast of the progressive sentiment and policy of America? That is the question, and no wriggling and squirming or abusive sputtering can long evade it.

Every year's delay intensifies the problem, which the South cannot escape without reverting back to barbarism.

Over against this sickly claim of anxious interest in the education of the factory children, put forward by the manufacturers' petition and such organs as the *Manufacturers' Record*, we respectfully cite the following testimony on southern white illiteracy, not from the *Boston Transcript*, or GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, but from one of the best known and ablest papers in all the South, the *Atlanta Constitution*:

"There is no more humiliating fact that an intelligent southern man has to face than this: That among the white people of the South we have as many illiterate men over 21 years of age as we had fifty-two years ago, when the census of 1850 was taken!

"Make every allowance that may please on account of the civil war and its consequent impoverishment of our people, and yet this depressing fact is not explicable on any grounds creditable to the white people of the South. To say that we have not had at least within the thirty years of our public school enterprises since 1870 opportunity and means to improve the educational status of our white people is to claim an excuse that ignores facts and outrages common sense.

"This ignorance of reading and writing, the two primary necessities of the automatic citizen, to which we now refer, exists among the white men of the South who have come to full age, to citizenship and all its privileges, since the cotton exposition was held in Atlanta in 1881. These figures we write about do not include children or negroes. They speak their condemnation alone upon the grown-up sons of southern men, the adult voters of to-day, upon whose intelligence, efficiency and ballots the interests of our civilization and society depend.

"It is useless to parade figures showing how much we have spent on schools, how many schools we have, and how many new fads and fiddlesticks we have imported into them from the hotbeds of Boston "culchah"—the fact remains that in proportion to our white adult male population in the South we have as many men who cannot read and write as we had fifty years ago. That is a mean-looking measly fact that cannot be wiped off the record.

"Our sister states of the South may deal with this deplorable situation as they may elect, but surely it is time for Georgia to get down squarely to the work of correcting our educational system in a way that will work a continuous reduction and practical disappearance of this large volume of illiteracy."

COLUMBIA'S NEW PRESIDENT

In unanimously electing Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler to succeed Seth Low as president of Columbia University, the trustees of that university have reached out for the best and got it. By common consent Dr. Butler, though a young man, is among the foremost educators in the United States. As a scholar, a man of action and educational sense, he has few peers and no superiors; it so seldom happens that erudition, practical efficiency, and broad stimulating patriotism are found in the same person.

The scholar too frequently finds himself alienated, as it were, often feeling above the practical affairs of real life. Everyday affairs are too commonplace, too crude, too illogical to engage his interests, and he tends to create an atmosphere in which only abstract ideas can find genial reception. The affairs of politics and business, of the legislature and workshop, in which hard-headed common-sense so frequently sets aside learned theorems, are matters which scholars should avoid. The effect of this is to make young men who come within the college atmosphere look down upon politics, labor and practical affairs as something inferior, something that only the vulgar should touch.

In short, this tends to beget in the minds of the graduates of some of the highest institutions of learning a snobbishness and cynicism toward the practical affairs of life which tends to make them, in not a few instances, feel too good to be useful. The result is a tendency to take the best educated people in the community out of politics and away from public affairs, leaving the duties of government in all its phases to the inferior and less prepared. Every idea and influence which tends to establish the notion that it is not re-

spectable to go into politics tends to leave the field of public affairs to the Platts, Quays and Crokers.

Dr. Butler represents the very antithesis of all this. Besides being a scholar of first rank, he is an intense patriot and man of affairs. He believes that the citizen who has not been taught that his education should help him minister to the affairs of state has received an incomplete education. In his "Meaning of Education" (page 111) he regrets that:

"With here and there an exception, the educated men of the country hold themselves aloof—or are held aloof—from participation in what is called practical politics. The field of activity which should attract the highest intelligence of the nation too often repels it. When a man of the most highly trained powers engages in political life, he becomes an object of curiosity and comment. If he despises the petty arts and chicaneries of the demagogue he becomes 'unpopular.' After a brief interval he passes off the public stage without even a perfunctory recognition of his services. It is safe to say that the framers of no government, least of all the framers of our own, contemplated a practical outcome such as this. If education and training unfit men for political life, then there is something wrong either with our political life or with our education."

Nor is this mere abstract theory with Dr. Butler. He has lived it from the beginning. While always to the front in scholarship and intellectual accomplishments, he has always been in actual touch also with the practical affairs of life. He was graduated from Columbia in 1882, took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1884, and returning from a year's study abroad was made assistant professor of philosophy in 1885. In 1887 he became the first president of the Teachers' College and served in that capacity until 1891, during which time that institution was developed from a comparatively small school on University Place to the leading college for the training of teachers in the country, and is now an integral part of Columbia University. At this time he was at once president of the state board of education in New Jersey, president of the Teachers'

College, and professor of philosophy and education in Columbia University; and, despite it all, seldom failed to attend the political primary and help select and elect public officials in the district in which he lived.

He was one of the active spirits in bringing about the nomination of Roosevelt for governor, and was one of his close advisers during the latter's term as governor. In theory and practice, by learning and temperament, Dr. Butler combines in an exceptional degree the scholar and patriot, the educator and citizen. He represents, as all educators should, the theory that education should make useful citizens, not dilettanti; that it should give respectability to business and public life, not by snobbish and cynical criticism but by efficient touch and practical usefulness, by giving culture to democracy and inspiring intelligent patriotism in the public life of society.

The election of Dr. Butler as president of Columbia University is a contribution to the practical patriotism as well as culture of higher education. Columbia University and the public are to be congratulated upon the exceptional opportunity of giving at once an ideal mayor to the greatest city in the country and an ideal president to its great university.

DANGERS OF AN UNSOUND CURRENCY

The dangers to the prosperity of the nation from an unsound currency are numerous, subtle and far-reaching. They are the more significant because they produce the worst effect at times when sound currency is most needed. It is in times of industrial disturbance, of lagging trade, of foreign complications, that unimpeachable money is most needed; and it is under these disturbed conditions that poor currency shows its greatest weakness.

Although the currency of the United States has been maintained as good as gold, it has many defective features, and more than once has contributed money panic and business disturbance instead of being the bulwark against such industrial perturbations. Among these are the greenbacks, the bond basis of our national bank notes, overvalued silver dollars, and the ten per cent. tax which practically prohibits state bank issues.

In undertaking to reform any of our political or fiscal institutions, much depends upon tradition and public sentiment among the people regarding the subject. In this respect the United States is almost unique among modern nations. We have had a greatly varied financial experience. In the early history of the government we went to great lengths in the use of fiat money; then, under the leadership of Hamilton, we experimented with great success with the federated or branch bank system of currency under the Bank of the United States. We have also had remarkable experience with state bank currency, which gave us an era of "wild-cat" money, often at a discount of from ten to forty per cent., according to locality, in different parts of the country.

In New England, where the Suffolk Bank filled the

same function to the New England banks that the Bank of the United States did to the branch banks, the currency was stable, elastic, and of unvarying value. In these two classes of experiments, the state banks on the one hand and the banks of the United States and the Suffolk Bank on the other, we have a striking illustration of the effect upon the currency of two kinds of banking institutions. The one gave us an elastic and reliable currency, and the other an unreliable, fluctuating, panic-creating currency. With Jackson's overthrow of the second Bank of the United States, however, the present sub-treasury system was established; and the exigencies of the war brought our present national banking system.

Both of these institutions were shaped largely on the idea of safety. Ample security was a dominant feature of the sub-treasury system. As Abraham Lincoln said, it is the national iron box. It takes the government funds and locks them up, of course withdrawing them from the volume of the nation's circulation. To be sure, this does give security, it makes the government funds safe, but at the same time it constantly deprives the nation of the use of several hundred million dollars, which is practically a contraction of the currency.

The national banks also are based on the extreme security idea, the permitted note-issue being limited in amount to the par value of government bonds which must be deposited with the treasury. This, of course, gives great security to the notes, but deprives them of all elasticity, and in reality is contrary to the true principle of paper currency. More security than is necessary is waste. It is very much like a man using twice as much capital as is necessary adequately to run his business.

Of course, the object of fiduciary money is to be

able to give to the community money which is at once safe, convenient, inexpensive, and capable of automatic expansion and contraction in response to the industrial needs of the country. No currency can adequately serve this purpose which is not fully secure. Insecurity destroys the essential basis of paper money—public confidence; but double or treble security is unnecessary waste of capital and tends to make high rates of interest and non-elasticity inevitable.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that it is beyond the power of government to work financial or economic miracles. Systems of money, like habits of life, cannot be radically transformed by a stroke of the pen. What it has taken a long time to do cannot be arbitrarily and instantaneously undone without risking a disturbance which may prove more disastrous than the original evil. We have had some experience of the evil consequences of defective currency that are too recent to need enumerating here. These experiences, coupled with the direful experience of industrial depression, apparently contributed to two opposite currents of public opinion; one, in favor of socialistic treatment of the subject, which demands that all money be issued by the government, and the other, the extreme individualistic treatment, which demands radical reorganization of our banking and currency system, eliminating all government responsibility whatever.

The first is represented by the populist, free-silver, greenback sentiment which was behind the Bryan movement. That movement proposed to reform our currency by taking all individual, initiative responsibility and private enterprise out of the banking and currency system, making the government the sole banker of the country. This, it is needless to say, is the exact reverse of scientific financiering. It is contrary to all sound principles of banking and currency. Any movement in

that direction would be a definite step towards financial paternalism and directly away from the foundation principles of democratic government, individual enterprise, safe banking and sound money.

Those who insist upon radical action in the opposite direction must be regarded as scarcely less practical, though they represent in the abstract sounder monetary principles. In order to be really helpful to the community we must not only be sound in our general theory, but we must be feasible in our practical efforts. It is not difficult to create a real evil by injudicious effort to establish a great good. The beneficial effect of social change often depends quite as much upon how it is done as upon what is done. This is especially true in dealing with a subtle, far-reaching subject like the currency, whose fibres reach out into the industrial welfare of every citizen.

Two important questions should be considered in undertaking any reform in our currency system; first, what are the fundamental elements of a sound fiscal system, and second, how much of these elements can be incorporated into our system at any one time without creating more evil than good. Of course if we were asked to outline a new financial system, unembarrassed by any traditional prejudices, it is safe to say that nobody would advocate the coining of dollars at less than half their bullion value, nor would it be seriously urged to have the government issue five or more hundred millions of legal tender paper money, in such a way as to enable the banks and business men to compel the government to go into the market and pledge its credit to borrow gold to liquidate private international transactions. Nor would any responsible financier recommend a banking system which would require the government to be security for the notes, practically making them non-redeemable and wholly inflexible.

Yet, while none of these features would be recommended in devising a new currency, since they are all features of our present monetary system, the question is not so much, ought they to be abolished, as, how can they be gradually and safely eliminated and superseded by sound monetary methods.

One of the mistakes we are likely to make in treating subjects of this kind is to place too much reliance on the aphorism that the way to do a thing is to do it. The disadvantage of this rule is that it fails to count with the habits and bias in favor of the existing methods. Whether we recognize it or not, the success of public policy depends largely upon psychological influences. The confidence of the people is necessary to the successful working of any social institution. This is particularly true of money, and especially of fiduciary money, which necessarily rests largely upon the public faith. If we see an institution working well in a foreign country, we are likely to think all that is necessary to obtain the same results is to adopt the same institutions here. Yet this is far from being the case. An institution may work remarkably well in England, or in any continental country, and be a complete failure in the United States.

It is doubtful whether the Bank of England, which seems to work so well in Great Britain, would be feasible in this country. The Bank of England is the result of centuries of peculiar English experience. The English public, which may be said to have no critical opinions on financial questions, have unquestioning faith in the Bank of England. That institution is regarded with more unqualified acquiescence than is the foundation of the throne itself. Consequently, whatever policy it may pursue regarding the currency is backed by the confidence of the entire nation.

Nothing of this kind could be vouchsafed for a

similar, or for that matter for any, financial institution in this country. The American people are critical, especially towards new institutions. The most perfect banking system established in any other country might prove a complete failure in this country. Our present monetary system must be American; to be sure, it contains American defects, but they must be reformed in accordance with American ideas and American methods, otherwise they will not receive public confidence, which is indispensable to success.

For reasons already stated, the idea of government security to paper currency, as in the case of greenbacks, treasury notes and national bank notes, is a feature of our monetary experience. Though this is not consistent with scientific banking, it is an element which public sentiment and public confidence in the United States seems to require, and to remove it from our monetary system might and probably would greatly impair popular faith in our paper money. This does not mean, however, that no reform in that direction should be attempted, but it does mean that all such changes should be gradual and as imperceptible as possible.

It is generally admitted that our currency lacks elasticity, but our experience with "wild-cat" currency has created a strong suspicion of all currency not secured by government, and in consequence not merely ample but abnormal security is necessary to satisfy our people. Whether we like it or not, therefore, it is probable the element of government security will for a considerable time remain a feature of our monetary machinery. In other words, if our currency is to be reformed at all, it must be reformed along the lines of existing methods. We need greater elasticity, which shall permit the expansion and contraction of our currency, in accordance with the commercial needs of the country, but this must come through some modification of our existing system

and not by the substitution of a new system. We need greater banking accommodations in the rural districts of our country; but this too must be obtained by adding some feature to our present banking system, rather than by establishing a new system, however desirable in the abstract that might be.

Although the task of reforming our currency in the direction of truly safe and scientific banking is a delicate one, conditions are now very favorable to it. The present business prosperity is a great factor because it is the great confidence-giving circumstance in the whole nation. With the encouragement of business prosperity a reform of the currency may be safely undertaken. We must be satisfied to treat the subject carefully and conservatively, avoiding all radical experiments or violent clashing with traditional sentiment. The American people are ready for a judicious handling of the subject, the business world is ready for conservative monetary reform, and if it is undertaken with full recognition of those forces much can be accomplished. The currency law of 1900 was a step forward, and a further change now toward flexibility and current redemption of bank notes will do much to start a positive movement in the direction of a sound and thoroughly American monetary system. Every step in this direction which is successful will increase the confidence of the people in the soundness of the principle, and then every new step towards a truly scientific system will be easier. It will involve less risk of fiscal disturbance and command more complete public confidence, and this, once secured, will make the most comprehensive fiscal statesmanship safe, easy and popular.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

MR. BRYAN is very much troubled about King Edward's coronation. As an offset, by way of insult to England and censure to President Roosevelt for sending representatives to the coronation ceremony, he wants "Oom Paul" Kruger brought to the United States and the 26th of June made a Boer day throughout the country. He really seems to think this a stroke of great statesmanship. And that man was twice candidate for president of the United States!

"President Gunton of the New York Institute of Social Economics does not see where we are under any 'obligation' to Cuba. It is plain enough. We are under the obligation of self-assumed guardianship. We took the position that her people could not govern themselves for their own best interest, and that we could. The only justification we can give for our taking control of them is to give the best government possible."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

WE HAVE FULFILLED this obligation and are about to deliver the government of Cuba to the Cubans, but are we on this account under obligations to sacrifice our own industries in order that Cuba may have a monopoly of the American market? Nothing can create such an obligation. If we had an administration foolish enough to do that by specific treaty, the people would be justified in repudiating it at the first opportunity. There is no economic, political or moral obligation for one nation to sacrifice its own industries for the interests of another.

THE NEW YORK board of aldermen has voted an appropriation of \$80,000 to replace the street signs in Manhattan and Brooklyn. For this may their names be numbered among the blest. In a few weeks we may expect that once more people who have eyes and can read

will be able to find their way about New York city without having to inquire of the hoodlums on the street corners. The Tammany official who removed the street numbers from the lamps is entitled to ostracism from political office and public favor the remainder of his natural life. It was a barbarous infliction, which in this respect reduced New York to the conveniences of a country village. If the new administration will go one step farther, and compel people to number their doors in such a way that they can be read in the evening, it will have won immortal fame, even if it fails to solve the excise question.

"No democrat wants to pull down the flag in any war. It is a rank partisan slander. As to the Filipinos, for example, true patriots don't ask our soldiers to furl their flag and stand still while Filipinos are shooting them or while they are still at war. But true patriots demand that our administration frankly inform the Filipinos that we have no purpose to steal away their islands or their liberty; that we are going to give them their country and their freedom the minute they will organize an effective government—precisely as we have done with the Cubans.

"That would end the war in thirty days with honor and safety to our flag and our Christian civilization.

"There is just where every American stands on this question, if he hasn't got rotten tory blood in his veins."—*Fulton County Democrat* (Ill.)

THIS IS rather prompt, but it is good Americanism and sound republican doctrine which unfortunately few republicans have the courage to advocate. The constitution, with its guarantee of personal freedom and democratic institutions, should always accompany the flag. Whenever they get separated, if the constitution cannot go to the flag, the flag should come to the constitution.

THE FREE TRADE press and the Havemeyer literary bureau are making great efforts to create the impression that the administration favors free sugar, or a radical reduction of the sugar duty for Cuba. This is essen-

tially false. The administration wants nothing of the kind. In this case the president and Secretary Root are the administration, and so far from wanting free sugar the president is opposed to any change in the tariff which would injure or threaten a domestic industry. These journals have given out that the president was going to send a special message to congress urging this matter. Time will show that he will do nothing of the kind. He is in sympathy with Cuba and would like to render her any industrial aid consistent with our own interests. Nothing would suit these people better than to see President Roosevelt commit the blunder of trying to coerce congress in the interest of anti-protection legislation. But they will be disappointed. The president will not try to influence congress to pass any measure for Cuba or anybody else that will be detrimental to our own industries. His position on protection was clearly stated in his message, and he may be relied upon to stand by that.

IN DISCUSSING the proposed reduction in the duty on Cuban tobacco, the *Hartford Times* says:

"We wish the farmers of Connecticut could see how essential it is for their interests to procure an abandonment at the earliest possible moment of the whole scheme of 'expansion,' which means expansion of opportunity for great capitalists to break down some of the leading industries of New England, but no expansion of American prosperity or the welfare of our people."

In the next column but one, of the same issue, it lays down the doctrine of free trade for beet sugar men thus:

"This is good, healthy American talk. Our industries have little to fear from foreign competition. It will not only do us no harm to treat the Cubans generously, but it will bring to our merchants and manufacturers a demand for many millions of dollars' worth of goods annually."

When Connecticut tobacco is involved, a reduction of duty means an "opportunity for great capitalists to

break down some of the leading industries of New England," but when beet sugar in the South and West is concerned it is "good, healthy, American talk. Our industries have little to fear from foreign competition." Such small smallness might be expected to make "wooden nutmegs" if there was anything in it. Is it not too bad that the clients of the *Hartford Times* cannot be given the full benefit of free Cuban tobacco without affecting other people.

"If the committee of ways and means refuses any measure of relief for Cuba, it will do so on the ground that it is afraid, even in such a case as this, of making a breach in the Chinese wall of the tariff, lest the whole fabric should be undermined and fall. In this apprehension we cannot say that the committee is wrong. For, literally, it is 'by the cohesive force of public plunder' that the tariff hangs together."

—Editorial, *New York Times*.

THIS REVEALS the whole motive and animus of the free Cuban sugar advocacy of the *Times*. It is not aid for Cuba that the *Times* is driving at, but primarily to undermine and break down the protective system. And for this purpose it appeals to "Messrs. Roosevelt and Root" to preserve "the credit of the administration and its possibilities of future influence and usefulness" by demanding free sugar and tobacco for Cuba. Whatever may be true of Secretary Root, President Roosevelt can be trusted to estimate such friendship at its proper value.

On this subject the *Times* represents everything that the administration does not stand for. It speaks for those only who would substitute a Cleveland for a Roosevelt; a democratic, free trade administration for a republican protection administration. To the *New York Times* and its like, on this subject, the administration and ways and means committee may safely apply Tom Moore's rule for an English patriot; "Find out what the tories want and vote against it."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S review of the Schley-Sampson case is the clearest and most satisfactory statement of that unfortunate affair that has been given to the public. Without saying so, the president clearly shows that much that has been said in favor of Sampson was mere partisan stuff, utterly devoid of any foundation in fact. And the plea that Schley did any actual commanding at the battle of Santiago is also baseless. In the following brief paragraph he makes the point clear :

"Technically, Sampson commanded the fleet, and Schley, as usual, the western division. The actual fact, the important fact, is that after the battle was joined not a helm was shifted, not a gun was fired, not a pound of steam was put on in the engine room aboard any ship actively engaged in obedience to the order of either Sampson or Schley, save on their own two vessels. It was a captain's fight." . . .

The president's masterly review, which was made after a personal study of all the facts in the case, as he explicitly states, shows that neither of the admirals did anything in the fight calling for exceptional credit. From which it follows, though the president did not say it, that the effort in official circles to glorify Sampson by damning Schley was a discreditable affair, which has resulted in taking the credit from both of them, giving the glory to the captains who did all the fighting. It is to be hoped that this clear and comprehensive review of the president's will close the controversy, which has been discreditable from the start.

THE SPLURGE that the various semi-official diplomats are making regarding the attitude of their countries to the United States just before and during the Spanish war, to put it mildly, is ludicrous. The American people are not fools, and there are certain lines of evidence that are unmistakable. Whatever may have been technically the position of the governments, that of the press and the people of Germany,

France, Austria, and practically all continental Europe, was beastly offensive and the American people knew it. The attitude of Russia is less clear because it has practically no public press or public opinion. In England the files of the newspapers from day to day tell the story of the attitude of the press and the British people, which was almost uniformly friendly to this country; sometimes aggressively so. All the stuff that may be issued by specially informed professors and diplomats about the inside technical acts of the various governments go for naught in this matter. The sentiment of the people, and their public utterances through the press, were all antagonistic with the single exception of England. Of course, Prince Henry will be effusive in his praise of the United States, making an effort to strengthen the good will between the two countries, which is all right; but that should not fool anybody as to where the real spirit of friendship was when we were most in need of a friend.

THE CUBAN AGITATION begins to look more like a scheme to bunco the American people than an honest political movement. The parties to the scheme are the free traders on the one hand, who want to break down our protective system, and the American sugar "trust" and the plantation barons on the other, who want to bleed the American people to swell their profits. The strong point in this plea for "succor to Cuba" is that the Cuban people are in dire distress verging on starvation. The facts recently presented to the ways and means committee show that this is chiefly hypocrisy and misrepresentation. The profits of the Mendozas, Atkins and Havemeyers may be a little smaller, but the wages and prosperity of the Cuban people are higher than in many years. The demand for labor is so great that they have already begun to import labor-

ers from Spain and the Canaries, from whence they expect to import more if their scheme succeeds. No people was ever starving, nor on the verge of it, when labor was in high and constant demand. Moreover, Cuba's foreign trade last year showed a balance in her favor of \$9,000,000.

This appeal to the sympathies of the American people for "starving Cuba" is evidently the chief card in a game to loot the United States treasury for the benefit of rich Cuban land owners and American sugar refiners, and to break down the tariff and destroy domestic industry. To permit such a scandalous movement to succeed would put a premium on political hypocrisy and mendacity.

THE NEW YORK *Evening Post* is expected to cut up capers and be a political and economic irritant. But it does not often play the role of a real maniac. On the Cuban question it has lost its balance and yielded to a spell of hysterics, thus:

"For to be without food is less grievous than to be devoid of honor and humanity; a bankrupt treasury can be better endured than broken promises, and beggary is to be preferred to callous greed. . . . In this aspect of the matter our need is really greater than Cuba's. She requires succor; what we appear to lack is honesty and manly good faith. . . . Here is a great question of right and wrong; here is an issue between light and darkness, kindness and cruelty, honor and treachery. Yet men would befuddle it by elaborate tables about the amount of saccharine in beets! . . . Really, these men make our gorge rise, who thus encase themselves in fat and play fast and loose with the nation's honor . . . under the domination of heartless protectionists. . . . If there is real danger of such a national disgrace overtaking us, then we say that our peril is greater than Cuba's. She needs simply a free market; we stand in need of free men."

Somebody must have been off duty, or such fustian as this would hardly find editorial space in the *Evening Post*. Of course it is opposed to a duty on sugar or on anything else, but it would not pretend to support an

economic proposition by such juvenile drivel as this. The *Post* does not care a straw about Cuba; it never did. What it really cares about is the defeat of the beet sugar industry in this country; not because it is beet sugar but because it is a protected industry. It acted just this way, not quite so silly, about tin plate and silk and many other protected industries.

The *Post* is constitutionally a cold-blooded, flinty-hearted, hard-headed negative. It is at its best in opposition, and the one thing that it hates more than all others is a protected industry. It would probably prefer an industrial depression or the disappearance of American manufactures to having new industries developed under protective policy. It must have been under the spell of this mania that in an off moment it poured forth this silly gush.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries or the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Successful Work in Economic Education

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I write to express our great satisfaction with the magazine and the *Lecture Bulletin*. The last *Bulletin* in particular [Our "Obligation" to Cuba] was a model of forceful and intelligent argument. Our lecture course here has been a brilliant success so far. The church has been crowded to overflowing and a high degree of popular interest shown.

Very sincerely yours,

[REV.] CHARLES M. SHEPHERD,

Pastor Union Presbyterian Church, Evanston, Wyoming.

[Rev. Mr. Shepherd is conducting a series of public educational meetings, under the auspices of the Institute of Social Economics, having President Gunton's bi-weekly lectures read in the meetings as the principal feature, and is meeting gratifying success in the development of well-informed, active interest in public affairs.]

What Both Sides Need

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am very well pleased with the tone of your magazine in its handling of the several questions

that affect labor and labor organizations. Your expressions are fair, thoughtful and carefully prepared, and it is to be regretted that every workman cannot read them. Your magazine covers a very desirable ground in that it stands between the extremes of capital and labor and discusses questions impartially and without discrimination or prejudice. The *Lecture Bulletin* is also splendid, and is read with pleasure and profit. I would be more than glad to have the lectures read by every capitalist and workingman in the country, for they are what both sides to the industrial question need.

Truly yours, D. L. CEASE,
Editor *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio.

Progress of Industrial Peace

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read Professor Gunton's article with great care, and fully appreciate the value of the suggestions therein made. I now desire to express my sincerest thanks to yourself and all co-workers in the cause of voluntary conciliation and arbitration between employer and employee, and to congratulate you upon the success already achieved and the promises of still greater achievements which the future holds for us all.

Thanking you most profoundly, and wishing you God-speed in your great mission for industrial peace and justice, I have the honor to remain,

Yours very respectfully, W. MACARTHUR,
Editor *Coast Seamen's Journal*, San Francisco, Cal.

QUESTION BOX

Proper Limit of Cuba's Claims

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It seems to me that your proposition to give what help we do give to Cuba in the form of a bounty, emphasizing the idea that it is charity, would be a discreditable skulking away from the moral standard we set up in voluntarily assuming the burden of setting Cuba free, and, moreover, it would be the very worst thing we could do for Cuba. What they need is something upon which to found a legitimate, self-respecting, economic prosperity, but to distribute bounties would simply develop among them the mendicant, pauper spirit, undermining whatever disposition towards independent self-help they may now possess. Five years of charity would demoralize the industrial manhood of the island, but a tariff concession would come to them simply in the light of an opportunity furnished by us, just as tariff protection to our own industries comes as an opportunity and not charity. All the rest, with the Cubans as with our own protected industries, would depend upon themselves.

Suppose we did forego for a time, at least, the development of a new industry. We are not suffering for the lack of it, and our country is enormously rich, and growing richer by leaps and bounds every year. If it was good national policy and high morality to make enormous positive sacrifices for Cuba four years ago, why is it not equally so to make only one small negative sacrifice now, in order to make Cuban freedom good in reality, not merely on paper. This is more important to a strong, wholesome national spirit at home, and moral influence abroad, than merely to grab at one more item of wealth in the midst of all our plenty. When a waif is once adopted, the parents are bound to bring it up, at least to the point of self-support, even if they have to forego some advantages for themselves. They are not entitled to turn it into the street, in order to give their own boy all the new hats he wants.

L. S. H.

Such an attitude would neither be wholesome nor honorable nor decent nor honest to our own people. The question of sustaining or deserting our own sugar industry does not turn entirely upon whether we are rich and can afford to buy our sugar abroad, but it turns upon whether we have a right to deal falsely with a whole industry in which the American people have been investing millions and millions of dollars, in order to be charitable to anybody else. There is honor as well as decency in being true to obligations definitely incurred with American citizens. It does not at all follow, because it was high morality and good national policy to sacrifice for Cuba four years ago, that either morality or public policy demands that we should do the same on a new subject. We did a great deal to render a specific kind of help to Cuba: namely, give her control of her own government. It is simply maudling and not reasoning to pretend that because we did that we must keep on making similar sacrifices and contributions to her industrial condition at the sacrifice of our own people. Such a policy is not only not called for by morality, but it is positively immoral. If we have to choose between neglecting Cuba and neglecting Americans, the moral duty is very plain: namely, not to neglect Americans.

As to the matter of a bounty being "a discreditable skulking away from the moral standard," that seems to be mere undigested talk. There is no skulking, there is nothing discreditable, there is nothing less moral in offering to help Cuba in a way that shall be specifically a contribution and not a permanent condition. The suggestion of a bounty for a few years only is made on purpose to let Cubans feel that this help is not permanent, but that it is temporary, and that it is done in order to prevent the idea that we are going to take Cuba by the hand and lead her always like a weak-

ling, but clearly to emphasize the fact that the assistance is given solely to give Cuba a chance to get on her feet industrially, and after that she must walk alone or fall. A reduction of the duty, with no definite limit, would hold out the idea of a possible permanence of this exceptional privilege in American markets. That is what ought not to be. If anything will make Cuba and Cubans self-respecting, it is to put them where they do not rely upon economic any more than political charity. The help we render Cuba should be as far removed as possible from anything like economic permanence, because there is no economic ground for giving Cuba permanently an exceptional privilege over our own producers and everybody else in the American market.

Yes, "when the waif is once adopted, the parents are bound to bring it up," but we have not adopted the waif and we are not bound to bring it up. We helped it across a difficult place; we are willing to help it across another, but we are not willing to carry it on our backs all the days of our life, nor are we willing, nor ought we, to sacrifice or permanently injure any American industry or institution for Cuba. That would not be good morals, good economics, or good political philosophy, and would be very poor public policy.

Attitude of England and Germany in 1898

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What do you think of the recent revelations in regard to England's attitude towards us in 1898, at least as compared with Germany? Even if Lord Pauncefoot only acted as the mouthpiece of the other ambassadors, it is clear that the German representative, Baron von Holleben, did not favor the joint note, and he so telegraphed to the kaiser, and it is also proved that Emperor William definitely expressed his disapproval and would have nothing to do with it.

R. M.

The facts in this case are not all in, but, so far as presented, they show an undue eagerness on the part of Germany to claim a friendship for us, which nobody suspected, and to throw discredit on England. The much-flaunted document published by Baron von Holleben does not establish what the enemies of England and the belated friends of the United States would like to have us believe. The most that these facts show, and Lord Pauncefote does not deny it, is that after the note from Spain of April 10th was received, which greatly modified the Spanish position, Lord Pauncefote thought there was reason to believe and to hope that this might furnish a ground for reconsideration of the decision to declare war. In conjunction with representatives of the other first-class powers, this note published by Baron von Holleben was sent to their respective governments. It was vetoed by the English government, as it appears to have been by the German, and that is all there was of it, except that Lord Pauncefote agreed with the note and Baron von Holleben did not, but the governments they represented acted alike. To attempt to interpret this as an unfriendly act on the part of England is clearly to misrepresent the spirit, purpose and position of England in the case.

As a matter of fact, however, we have no reason to believe that any of the monarchical countries in Europe were in sympathy with the United States against the old-world monarchy. In all monarchical circles presumption has hitherto always been against the republic; in this respect they are all alike. Their sudden effusive pretension of friendship is for no love of our institutions whatever. It is mere diplomacy. They are decent to us because they can no longer afford to be indecent. They treat our friendship as a matter of political and industrial investment, sneering at and belittling us in their actual daily life, while in their for-

mal diplomatic relations they assume a cordial friendship. The only way to judge the friendliness of foreign countries with the United States is through the normal daily expression of the press and the public sentiment of the people. In this respect England is the only nation in Europe that can be regarded as at all friendly to the United States during the Spanish war.

In Germany and France, scarcely less than in Austria, the press and the people were offensively hostile to us; so much so that individual Americans traveling could hardly receive civil treatment in those countries. This fact is worth more than any mere technical attitude in diplomatic circles, because, as in the civil war, the English government does not dare do what the public sentiment of England is definitely opposed to. In 1861-65, the English ministry under Lord John Russell and Gladstone was definitely in sympathy with the confederacy, and wanted to recognize the South as a belligerent, but the English public sentiment was so pronouncedly in favor of the North, especially after the emancipation proclamation, that no ministry could have held office a month if it had taken sides with the South, no matter what the opinions and desires of the queen or the nobility or the cabinet itself had been. With the other European countries, in the Spanish war, the case was reversed. The sentiment of the people and the press was against us, and it was, therefore, very easy for the government to be against us also. In the case of Germany, this was painfully experienced by Admiral Dewey in Manila bay.

Our Responsibility for Cuba

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—There is no mistaking the fact of a strong public sentiment in favor of some material help for Cuba. One feels it on every hand. Our relations

with Cuba are altogether special and exceptional, and, because we may decide to do the special thing in helping her, it does not follow that we are obliged to do likewise for every semi-barbarian nation who may ask for it. It would be a sad ending of our much-paraded generosity if we should leave Cuba in a worse condition than we found her, with both the Spanish market and our own closed to her products, and only an uncertain native government instead of the Spanish authority to preserve order in the face of these unpromising conditions.

Suppose we did give Cuba political freedom, at great cost to ourselves. You have often declared emphatically that real freedom is not the *permission* but the *power* to do, and we have only gone to the point of giving the permission. We ought not to stop at the most vital point, where Cuban bankruptcy and revolution would undo all our earlier efforts for her. If a man undertakes to carry a boy across a stream, he has no business to leave him on an island in the middle. He need not have undertaken it at all, no matter how the boy begged; but, once assuming the task, he cannot in honor stop until he has placed his charge safely on the other shore. That is why this matter of Cuban relief seems to so large a part of the American people a specific case of national honor. P. N. S.

It is entirely true that "If a man undertakes to carry a boy across a stream, he has no right to leave him on an island in the middle." He is indeed bound to take him across, but, having taken him across that stream, he is not bound to take him across another and another. We agreed to help Cuba across one stream. We have done that; we have not left her midway. We undertook to give her political independence. That is completely done. We did not agree to carry her across the next stream, to industrial prosperity. Nor does the doing of the one imply the responsibility for doing the other. But the proposition we have presented actually takes her across a second stream.

Our proposition is to give Cuba half a cent a pound advantage on her sugar. That would give her fully three-quarters of a cent a pound advantage over all other foreigners in the American market. It would guarantee the possibility of selling her entire product for the next few years at a profit of from a half to three-quarters of a cent a pound, which, on this year's crop, would amount to from \$18,000,000 to \$20,000,000. That can hardly be called leaving Cuba in the middle of the stream. But what Cuba has been asking for is free sugar, which means the power to destroy our own sugar industries. That is neither fair to American investors, nor at all necessary for Cuba's prosperity. To give her free sugar would be to give her nearly \$50,000,000 a year, besides destroying an important industry of our own. There is neither economic, moral nor political reason, nor national honor, in any such proposition. Still, while we are under no moral obligation to carry her across the second stream, there is a general disposition on the part of the administration and of the American people actually to do it by giving her half a cent a pound on her sugar. But, if Cuba insists on the hoggish proposition of demanding all, at the cost of killing an important American industry, she ought not to have any part of her demand.

BOOK REVIEWS

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. By John A. Fairlie Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Administrative Law, University of Michigan. Cloth, gilt top, 448 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901.

This is at once a scholarly and a practical treatment of the subject of municipal administration. The author has divided the work into four parts—Municipal History, Municipal Activities, Municipal Finances and Municipal Organization. In each department it covers the municipal government, not of one country, but of the chief countries of the world. It is not, as is too frequently the case with books written on municipal affairs, a mere plea for a certain civil service *regime*. It is rather a history of what has been and is being done in the way of municipal administration in the most advanced countries of the world.

The first part, which is devoted to municipal history, is a valuable contribution to historic literature. An equal amount of information regarding ancient and medieval cities is hardly to be found in the same space, or, for that matter, in many times the space in any other single book. Ancient and medieval cities are often referred to incidentally to illustrate various points, usually of an economic or political character, but seldom do we find so much data regarding so many cities bearing upon their municipal organization as well as their economic and political characteristics as is given in the opening chapters of this book. In view of the fact that the ancient, and particularly the medieval, cities and chartered towns played such an important part in industrial and political development, laying the foundation for so much of the best elements in modern civilization, it is surprising that so little is said about them

by historic, economic and civic writers. This fact makes the present work the more welcome, and its brief yet comprehensive account of medieval cities in Europe the more valuable as a contribution to the literature of the subject.

The brief account of the municipal experience in England from 1500 to 1800 is interesting and very suggestive, as is also the account of the expansion and improvement of English boroughs during the nineteenth century. Nor are the municipal problems of the United States neglected. The same historic spirit pervades the discussion of municipal government in this country as is applied to the subject abroad.

In the second part, the functions as exercised by the municipal governments in the various countries are presented with intelligent precision and comprehension. The activities of municipal government, in regard to public health, safety, charity, education, and provident institutions and municipal improvements, are given with considerable detail for the leading countries of the world.

It is a really valuable book that no student of municipal government can afford to neglect. Besides being a good account of what the modern world is doing in municipal government, it is an important contribution to the history of cities, especially medieval cities, the literature of which is altogether too meager.

POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Charles S. Devas, M. A. Cloth, 662 + xxiv. pages. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.

This work is in no sense the effort of a "John the Baptist" in economics. It appears not to have been any part of the author's intention to launch upon the world new and startling theories of economics. Nor is it a stale reproduction of old school doctrines; but it is

an excellent presentation and critical review of the latest as well as the traditional classical doctrine of economics. The author puts forth very little for which he would claim originality, but he presents to the reader, in a most intelligible form, the best and the latest ideas and theories upon the subject. As a hand book of economics it is one of the best that has been published in years. It has a scientific spirit throughout. It stands for no particular school, but is liberally discriminating and thoroughly eclectic on every phase of economics. On much controverted questions, like value, wages, free trade, protection, trade unions, etc., it gives the reader a concise and thoroughly intelligent statement of the different theories.

Even on the question of free trade and protection it seems to be essentially free from bias. The author points out in a most conclusive manner that the advocates of free trade make the mistake of assuming that because free trade is a true economic policy under some conditions, it must necessarily be so under all, and *vice versa*. In this respect it is an exception among English economic publications.

So on the question of value, the author gives in a most lucid manner the early theories as represented by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and also the latest contributions of the Austrian school. In treating trade unions he is entirely free from that arrogant spirit so characteristic of the ultra *laissez faire* literature, which regards labor organizations as futile efforts to reverse natural laws. On the contrary, he recognizes and clearly presents the "Good Results from English Trade Unions," and also the "Weak Points of trade Unions." He passes in review the different theories of wages, as the wage fund theory, the productive theory, the iron law theory, with discriminating criticisms very useful to the student.

It is an excellent all-round book on political economy, well adapted for students' use. Besides giving an accurate presentation of economic theories, its analyses and criticisms, while strictly scientific, are characterized by a broad social and humane attitude towards the subject. The author never becomes so absorbed with an abstract theory as to forget that it relates to the social life and welfare of the community, nor ever so absorbed in the practical phase of the subject as to forget the importance of fundamental principle and scientific accuracy.

COMMERCIAL TRUSTS: THE GROWTH AND RIGHTS OF AGGREGATED CAPITAL. By John R. Dos Passos. Cloth, 137 pages. Price, \$1.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

Few men have had better opportunities to ascertain the real character and economic inwardness of commercial trusts than Mr. Dos Passos. He has organized several of the large concerns which have aggregated tens of millions of capital in one enterprise. He has had the experience of buying up independent competing plants and integrating them into one corporate whole; and has been very close to the watering pool in which the stocks are immersed for expansion, and is, therefore, thoroughly competent to talk by the facts on the subject. Moreover, besides having an extraordinary range of industrial as well as legal experience, Mr. Dos Passos is an economic student. In picking up a book, therefore, from his pen, on "Commercial Trusts," one naturally expects to find great familiarity with the subject, a wide range of view, and, withal, an intelligently critical, yet rationally liberal, treatment of the question, and in expecting this the reader will not be disappointed.

The style is easy, simple and quite convincing. Mr. Dos Passos is not content with a mere theoretic dis-

cussion of the abstract rights of capital or the dangers of trusts to society, but he does what few writers on the subject do, explains in a familiar and intelligible manner many of the actual workings of large organizations that are not familiar to the public mind. He also gives an interesting historic account of the growth of corporations, answering quite effectively many of the charges, rather flippantly made, about over-capitalization and monopolies, and points out the misleading character of much that is said on this point. On page 101 he says:

"In concluding this branch, permit me to repeat that it appears to me that all we have to-day to found legislation upon is the opinions of men who are not qualified to speak with any intelligent authority; we have the vague and indefinite criticisms of people who have not studied these questions from the standpoint of actual experience or the honest conviction resulting from deep research."

Mr. Dos Passos' book is a readable and instructive contribution to the literature of the subject, which none can read without profit.

5,000 FACTS AND FANCIES: A CYCLOPEDIA OF IMPORTANT, CURIOUS, QUAIN AND UNIQUE INFORMATION IN HISTORY, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, ART AND NATURE. By William Henry P. Phyfe. Cloth, 816 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

In every respect this book is true to its title. It is really a cyclopedia of facts and fancies, with an unlimited variation of importance. In running over its pages it would seem to contain everything of significance and many things of no significance at all. Hardly a question can be asked regarding the origin, name or location of an event, place or institution to which the answer is not given. Everything from Jerusalem to

Jersey lily seems to be accounted for, and a reason for its name and existence given. All important events in history, discoveries in science, distinctions in religion, changes in government, are recorded with a brief statement of the date and cause. To save the necessity of an index, it is arranged alphabetically. Notwithstanding that the book contains 816 pages, one cannot resist the astonishment that so much information is given in so little space.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

William Hamilton Gibson. Artist, naturalist, author. By John Coleman Adams, author of "Nature Studies in Berkshire," etc. Cloth, 8vo, 275 pp. By mail, \$2.15; net, \$2.00. G. Putnam's Sons, New York. Fully illustrated.

A Short History of Rome and Italy. By Mary Platt Parmele, author of "Short Histories of Russia, Spain, United States, England, France and Germany." 60 cents. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The French Revolution and Religious Reform. By William M. Sloane, author of "The French War and the Revolution," etc. \$2.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Contemporary Socialism. By John Rae. New and enlarged edition. \$2.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The Foundations of American Foreign Policy. With a Working Bibliography. By Albert Bushnell Hart. Cloth, 12mo, 307 pp. \$1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Civil War and the Constitution. By John W. Burgess, author of "The Middle Period." 2 vols. \$2.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Experimental Sociology. Descriptive and Analytical. By Frances A. Kellor. Cloth, 316 pp., \$2. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Britain and the British Seas. By H. J. Mackinder, M.A. Cloth, 8vo, \$2.00 net, postage added. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Containing numerous maps and diagrams.

The Science of Theology. The Defence of Society Against Crime. By Henry M. Boies, M. A., author of "Prisoners and Paupers." Cloth, 8vo. \$3. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

The Trust Problem. By Professor J. W. Jenks, Ph.D. Cloth, 12mo. \$1. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

The Middle Period, 1817-1858. (American History Series.) By John W. Burgess, Ph.D., LL. D., Columbia University. Cloth, 544 pp. \$1.75. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression. By Theodore E. Burton. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.40 net; postage added. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Sunday Legislation. Its History to the Present Time and Its Results. By A. H. Lewis. Cloth. \$1.00 net; postage added. D. Appleton & Co., New York. New edition, revised and enlarged.

Reconstruction in Mississippi. By James W. Garner, Ph.M. Cloth, 8vo, \$3.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The French Revolution: A Sketch. By Shailer Mathews, A. M., professor in the University of Chicago. Cloth, 12mo, 307 pp., \$1.25. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. With portrait of Mirabeau.

A History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great. By C. W. C. Ornan, M. A., F. S. A., author of "England in the XIXth Century." Cloth, revised edition, 12mo, \$1.50. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. With 12 maps, plans and other illustrations, side notes and full index.

The Spanish People. By Dr. Martin A. S. Hume. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

FROM RECENT MAGAZINES

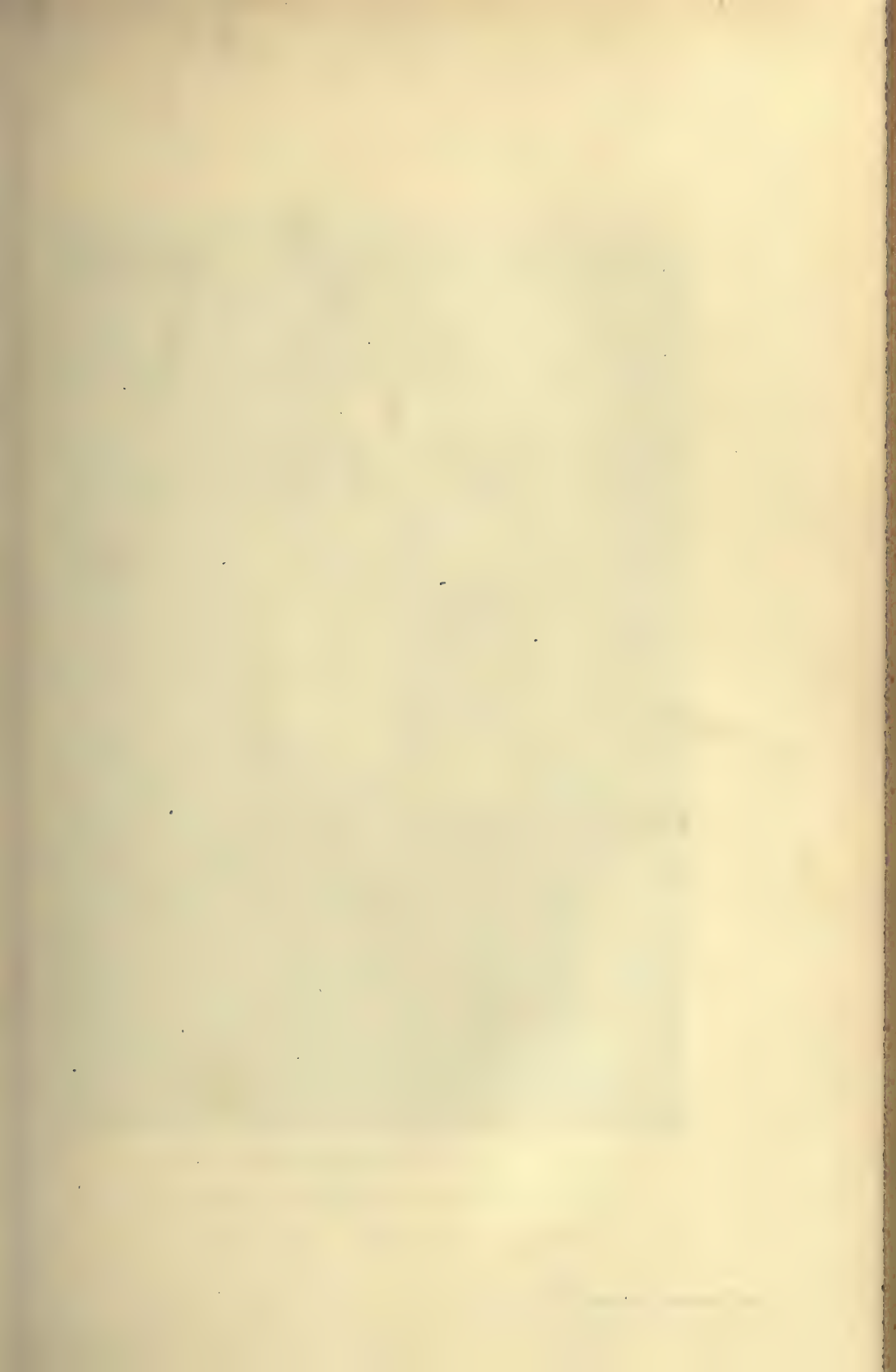
"A good many semi-good people still think that 'civil-service reform' is the hobby of a few over-righteous souls altogether too fine for the rough affairs of this world. These semi-good people are semi-informed. Now here is a president familiar, if any man alive is, with the actualities and roughnesses of this world; rough ranching, rough riding, rough fighting, rough politics. And he is, and always has been, a civil-service reformer all the way through, because he knows that civil-service reform means the merit system, and the merit system means the death of the spoils system, and that civil-service reform therefore is founded not only in common sense and what the president is always calling 'decency,' but in common honesty and the true spirit of American institutions; and that if the country is to live and flourish and accomplish its mission, the merit system must prevail in every branch of our government, by the rule or in the spirit."—*The Century*.

"The best judgment in Europe and America is, I believe, pretty well agreed on the futility of a European tariff alliance against the United States. Not one of our ambassadors or ministers believe it is a feasible programme for the European states, no matter how antagonistic European statesmen may become toward us on account of our commercial success in foreign fields. I found no important banker or manufacturer who thought it probable that the conflicting interests of the various states could be brought to any harmonious point of view from which to formulate such a tariff. Undoubtedly it is a dream in the minds of many people who have not a clear idea of the difficulties involved, but certainly the best judgment of the two continents seems against the feasibility of the idea. Conflicting interests can never be harmonized so that an agreement will be reached among the nations."—FRANK A. VAN-

DERLIP, in "The American 'Commercial Invasion' of Europe," *Scribner's*.

"It [the Monroe doctrine] implies, in my judgment, not merely that we defend the western hemisphere from outside interference, but inversely, that we will refrain from unnecessary interference in the affairs of the eastern hemisphere. 'Europe for the Europeans,' 'Asia for Asiatics,' are expressions just as logical, to the observance of which we are bound not merely by consistency but equally by the long-established policy of our government.

"The possession of a permanent Asiatic dependency may vitally menace these principles. So long as the United States adheres consistently to the domination of the western hemisphere, it may logically maintain the principle of non-interference therein by any other power, assuming to that extent the protection of other and weaker western nations from the rapacity of eastern powers. But if we should permanently invade the eastern world, we could no longer logically maintain that position. The right of any European country to a South American dependency, if obtained in some manner as legitimate as our acquisition of the Philippines, would be as logical as our right in Asia; nor could we logically maintain the contrary. If it be accepted that the Monroe doctrine is a fundamental one in our foreign relations, we are bound to respect the implied limitation. If we seek a field for the expansion of Anglo-Saxon ideas we have a broad one in our own continent, not yet even fallow-ploughed; and the peaceful extension of more cordial and intimate political and commercial relations with our South American neighbors has been, since it became so intimately linked with the name of Blaine, a recognized field of American diplomacy."—Major JOHN H. PARKER in "What Shall We Do With the Philippines?" *The Forum*.





H. H. VREELAND

President Metropolitan Street Railway, New York

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Cabinet Changes

It was only natural that the members of President McKinley's cabinet should consent to remain at their posts under the new administration, and only natural that President Roosevelt should wish them to do so. More than anything else, the conditions of the moment demanded the smoothest possible continuance of governmental authority, without any noticeable break either in public policy or practical administration, and this is what President Roosevelt's declaration that he meant to continue his predecessor's policy "absolutely unbroken," together with retention of the cabinet, accomplished.

Natural as all this was, it would have been unnatural in an equal degree to suppose that such a situation would or could continue permanently, or that President Roosevelt had any intention of placing a perpetual mortgage on his administration. It would be impossible anyway, if for no other reason than the differences between the two men, in temperament, and in general viewpoint on certain kinds of public questions. A different attitude towards the civil service developed at an early date, taking form most conspicuously in the decapitation of Bidwell as collector of the port of New York, and otherwise in a new standard of appointments, especially in the South, and in various orders extending and protecting the operation of the civil service laws. It is to be hoped that this policy will be permanent.

The new president's first message to congress showed pronounced divergence from the old regime on still other lines. It reflected an altogether more positive and vigorous attitude on public questions, particularly those relating to industrial and social problems within the nation, than has been exhibited in a presidential message for many years. The natural consequence has been, of course, a gradual change in the administration's circle of official advisers. The men President McKinley drew about him were presumably in close sympathy with his general theory and practice of administration, and had become harmonious factors in the working out of his policies, so that, under the new order of things, it was inevitable that changes should come.

Both Gain
and Loss

In the substitution of Leslie M. Shaw, ex-Governor of Iowa, for Lyman J. Gage, as secretary of the treasury, a distinct gain has been made, in all probability, for cleanliness of public service at least. It was under Secretary Gage's administration that the corrupt and disgraceful Bidwell regime in the New York custom house grew up, and continued even under official cognizance, the compelling force being the sinister influence of Senator Platt, who can always be counted upon to stand for the less clean of any two given office-holding propositions. The passing of Gage and Bidwell is cause for public congratulation, and will remain so even if the reforms in the treasury and customs administration fall a long way short of what is hoped for and ought to be.

Unfortunately, there is no such cause for congratulation in the change in the postmaster-generalship. Frankness compels the admission that the departure of Charles Emory Smith from his post, in favor of ex-Congressman Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin, represents

no elevation of official standards in the administration. The two men are not at all of the same type, either in quality of statesmanship or previous record for political cleanness. The best that can be hoped for, in the case of the new postmaster-general, is agreeable disappointment.

Secretary Long's retirement is to be regretted both for public and personal reasons, his administration of the navy department having been clean, effective and in the main popular. During his term of office the navy has signalized itself by an extraordinarily brilliant record in a foreign war, and made substantial progress in aggregate fighting strength. On the other hand, the department has been afflicted by the most disgraceful personal controversy in our naval history. The suspicion that the navy department harbored, or at least indirectly permitted, a systematic attack upon the record of Rear Admiral Schley, for the purpose of glorifying the work and name of Rear Admiral Sampson, when there ought not to have been and need not have been any controversy between these two officers, has made heavy drafts on the popularity of the department in the last two or three years, and probably Secretary Long's resignation has only been waiting for the official conclusion of the case, recently given by President Roosevelt. It should be said, however, that popular sentiment for the most part has credited Mr. Long with the intention and the effort to deal fairly and judicially with this exasperating wrangle, so far as his authority touched it.

Of his successor, Congressman William H. Moody of Massachusetts, there is little material as yet, in the way of any specially notable public work, upon which to base an opinion or predict a future. Mr. Moody is less than fifty years of age, and his record in congress during the last seven years has been active and forceful,

though his name has not been conspicuously identified with any particular measure of national importance. In brief, he enters the cabinet with a larger measure of opportunity ahead than of achievement behind—a fact which in itself carries no criticism but will perhaps stimulate the new secretary's effort to make a strong and useful record in the department.

Rumor has recently foreshadowed the retirement of Secretary Knox upon completion of the Northern Securities test case, and of Secretary Wilson when the sugar controversy is finished, but nothing definite is announced. In the case of Secretary Wilson, especially, it is to be hoped that nothing of the kind is in prospect, for the department of agriculture has probably never had a more efficient and progressive chief. Mr. Wilson has stood his ground stanchly in favor of development of the American beet sugar industry, and it is incredible that the public service should be deprived of his important labors merely in response to the rancorous ravings of the reciprocity-gone-mad enemies of a growing American industry. At least, it will be time enough to believe such a thing possible when it actually happens.

**New Philippine
Tariff Law**

The new Philippine tariff law was signed by the president on March 18th and went into effect at once. It provides, in brief, that imports into the Philippines from the United States shall pay the duties levied by the Philippine commission, the same as are paid on like articles imported into the islands from other countries. Also, that imports from the Philippines into the United States shall pay 75 per cent. of the Dingley tariff rates, minus any export taxes which may be imposed upon such articles. Imports from the Philippines which are on our free list shall be exempt hereafter from any export duty in the islands. Our navigation laws, requiring commerce

between ports of the United States to be carried in United States vessels, are suspended with reference to the Philippines until July 1st, 1904. It is provided that all duties collected on United States imports into the Philippines, or of Philippine imports into the United States, shall be paid into the Philippine treasury. Provision is also made that imports (chiefly of raw materials) which, under our present laws, are entitled to refund either of internal taxes or of the import duty when the finished articles, into which such materials have entered, are exported from the country, shall apply also in the case of similar imports from the Philippines re-shipped thence in manufactured form, and any taxes paid on such articles shipped to the Philippines since November 15th, 1901, shall be refunded.

**"Expansion"
and Protection**

The passage of some such law was made necessary by the supreme court decision, rendered last December, declaring the Philippine islands to be "domestic territory" but under the control of congress, so that, while the Dingley tariff on "foreign" products could not apply to Philippine imports, it was within the power of congress to make special tariff provisions against Philippine products. Since the decision of the court rendered void all duties that had been collected on Philippine products since the treaty of peace with Spain, it was clearly necessary either to permit entire free trade with the islands or enact a special tariff measure.

Parallel with this, the struggle over Cuban reciprocity seems to have reached the compromise settlement of granting a 20 per cent. tariff reduction on Cuban sugar until December 1, 1903, two or three months after the proposed abolition of the European sugar bounty system, which now practically destroys Cuba's chance of competing in the English market.

This concession, if granted, will be all that Cuba can reasonably expect, but it has taken a most determined struggle to defeat the original proposition of complete free trade for Cuban sugar, with no time limit. A wholesome feature of the proposed concession is the requirement that Cuba shall enact the United States immigration and exclusion laws.

Apart from the merits of the immediate issues involved, there is a deeper significance underlying these tariff controversies, both in the case of the Philippines and of Cuba. The Philippine bill met with the most determined opposition, on the ground that if the Philippines were a part of the United States their people must be American citizens, and we have no right to discriminate against any portion of the American people by tariff barriers against the free exchange of their products with any other portion. This line of attack was not able to defeat the bill, but it forced a 25 per cent. reduction from the regular rates and may, therefore, be regarded as successful to the extent of accomplishing 25 per cent. of its object at the outset. In the case of Cuba, while the argument has necessarily differed in detail, it has proceeded on essentially the same idea; that our responsibility for the island carried a moral obligation to give the benefit of our markets to the Cuban people. This was especially urged in view of the provisions we forced into the new Cuban constitution, binding Cuba to various policies and granting concessions and rights of intervention to the United States.

In both cases the experiment of either annexing or assuming practical "suzerainty" over alien races is producing exactly the effect predicted in many quarters at the start: namely, signs of disintegration both in our national ideals of government and of any really coherent and understood sentiment behind our national

policies. Annexing the Philippines as a dependency, "outside the constitution," and subject to whatever form of government congress may choose to establish, is practically adopting the colonial principle of monarchism, and the efforts to justify it are producing a demoralizing confusion in the public mind as to what the fundamental basis of our democratic institutions actually is. The only clear thing is that we have swung away from the basis of the declaration of independence, and are in danger of losing any really positive, consistent body of sentiment centering around the idea of democratic institutions, upon which to rely for protection against undermining political tendencies.

So long as our public policies were consistent with the constitution and the "live-and-let-live" democratic idea, there was no doubt about the solidity and definiteness of this sentiment, and its virile, enthusiastic adherence to the standard of republican institutions, with equality of political rights, as a unique and priceless possession of the American people. There was a growing national consciousness that into our charge had been committed the working out of this unique experiment, for the benefit not only of ourselves but of mankind, and that the essential quality in the success of this experiment was consistent adherence to the principles by which our national life has been shaped. But, among the first fruits of the colonial expansion policy, we find this growing confusion and diffusion of the national sentiment as to the future course and purposes of the republic.

In concrete matters this has taken shape, not only in supreme court decisions extending the "extra constitutional" authority of congress to accommodate almost any practical requirements of the expansion-by-force policy, but in fresh attacks on the protective system at every vulnerable point. The struggle for free

trade with the Philippines, and, at first, for practically the same with Cuba, has deluded into its support a large body of traditional supporters of our protective policy. It is the precursor of similar attacks that are bound to come, based on similar pleas of "sympathy" and "justice" and so on, but in reality, for the most part, veiling the efforts of capitalist speculators to get free access to the American market for cheap-labor industries to be established in these new possessions.

That these are not merely chimerical possibilities, the struggle for Cuban tariff concessions, backed chiefly by American owners of Cuban plantations and American refiners of cane sugar, amply show. These experiences will not have been wasted, however, if they lead the way to a return of American public sentiment to the basis of sound political principle, establishing the rule that our relations with these tropical and unassimilable races shall be for the temporary purpose only of assisting them towards independence. Evidences of such a trend of sentiment, away from permanent annexation and towards ultimate independence, are increasing. They should be hailed with patriotic enthusiasm, not merely from the standpoint of national advantage, but because such a policy would be directly in the line of our broadest helpfulness and most powerful influence for progress with all races of men.

**Meaning of
Boer Successes**

Every few weeks some daring and successful raid by Delarey or De Wet, or other of the burgher leaders, varies the slow process of breaking down the Boer resistance. These affairs at least serve the purpose of rousing the enthusiasm of Boer sympathizers everywhere, however meager the permanent results may be.

The most notable Boer success in a long time occurred on March 7th near Twe-Bosch, in the western

Transvaal. A detachment under General Methuen, consisting of 900 mounted men and 300 infantry, on the march, was charged by General Delarey on three sides and utterly routed, Methuen himself being wounded and taken prisoner. Three British officers and 38 men were reported killed, four guns captured and about two hundred men missing. Methuen has since been released.

The real significance of these occasional Boer successes lies in the effect they produce upon British public opinion and the attitude of the British government. If they resulted in a drift of popular opinion towards making a compromise with the Boers, these bold raids might seem to play an important part in shaping the future settlement of the struggle and would therefore, of course, be well worth while from the Boer standpoint, but in reality the opposite effect is produced. Each new interruption in General Kitchener's gradual "cornering" campaign seems only to strengthen the British resolution to carry the war through to full completion. This has been made clear once more in the English comment and discussion on General Methuen's defeat, reflecting general sympathy and esteem for the unfortunate commander and determination to retrieve the loss. In fact, the event seems not only to have strengthened the hands of the British government at home, but even brought out explicit and probably inspired declarations of sympathy and friendship in the Prussian diet. This is practically the first time such a feeling has been expressed anywhere in continental Europe, where England and English politics are almost uniformly disliked.

Successful Boer raids may serve to prolong the struggle, but they offer no ground for supposing that England's efforts will be in any way relaxed or the terms of peace materially modified. The most definite result thus far, in fact, is the sending of fresh

reinforcements to South Africa, while the extension of Kitchener's blockhouse system goes steadily forward. The inevitable final outcome is obvious, and each bloody combat like that at Twe-Bosch only deepens the regret that brave soldiers like Delarey, Botha and De Wet should continue sacrificing their men and prolonging the devastation of their country in behalf of a hopeless cause.

**The Boston
Strike**

The exact merits of the teamsters' and freight handlers' strike, which tied up the transportation business of Boston through nearly all of the week of March 10th, have at no time been very clear. The trouble seems to have sprung from the discharge of seven freight-handlers by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, for refusing to handle freight brought to the company's station in trucks of the Brine Transportation Company, a non-union concern. If the men refused to handle such freight under any circumstances, the railroad company was clearly in the right in employing laborers who would, because the company, as a common carrier, is obliged to accept all proper kinds of freight offered it for transportation. If, however (as was also asserted), the men only refused to help unload the trucks of the Brine company, not refusing to load it into the cars when entirely clear from the trucks, the railroad company could have conceded the point of allowing the men the option of helping or not helping unload any trucks coming to the freight yards, leaving this part of the work entirely to the truckmen. On the Boston and Maine railroad, in fact, the freight-handlers are expressly forbidden to help unload trucks except at their own risk.

The case of the striking freight-handlers enlisted

the prompt support of numerous other labor bodies in Boston, and by the second day a sympathetic strike was on, involving fifteen to twenty thousand men, chiefly on the trucking and express delivery lines. Strenuous efforts were made by the leading business interests of Boston to effect a settlement, with the help of Mayor Collins, Governor Crane, and the arbitration committee of the National Civic Federation, which was called in on the 11th. On the 13th these efforts succeeded, and the strike was called off the next day. The bulk of the men returned to work under an agreement that the strikers should be taken back as fast as possible, without discrimination. Governor Crane meanwhile pledged himself to use his "best efforts with the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad to have them adopt rules that will be in conformity with those already adopted by the Boston and Maine railroad regarding the loading and unloading of trains." The fact of such a pledge being made would seem to imply that the real protest of the strikers was not against handling the freight altogether, but chiefly against being required to help unload trucks of the non-union concern.

Just what basis of final settlement has been or will be reached is not yet entirely clear, but it seems probable that at least the effort to compel the freight-handlers to help unload non-union trucks will be quietly abandoned. Incidentally, it is noteworthy and gratifying that this strike was conducted entirely without violence or public disturbance. In fact, on March 13th, when 19,735 men were reported on strike, the police department is said to have had even less than the usual amount of trouble on hand. Such a record is a credit to Boston, and especially a credit to organized labor, and affords a wholesome object-lesson in the possibility of industrial contests without violence.

Plans of the
Arbitration
Committee

In this connection it will be interesting to notice just how the arbitration committee of the National Civic Federation has organized itself, and how it proposes to act. The "industrial department" held its first meeting in New York on February 19th, only six of the thirty-six members being absent. As a result of its work, a set of by-laws was adopted, including (with special reference to the settlement of labor disputes) the following:

"Article VII.—Conciliation committee. The chairman shall appoint a committee on conciliation, to consist of nine members, three of whom shall be selected from each group, whose duty it shall be, at the request of the chairman, upon information of threatened strike or lock-out of more than local magnitude, to use its good offices in restoring harmonious relations, reporting its action to the executive committee.

"Article VIII.—Arbitration. Should the efforts of the conciliation committee prove ineffective, and should both parties to the dispute desire the services of the executive committee of this department, they may be invited to select two employers and two wage-earners from said executive committee to serve as an arbitration board. Should the four find it necessary to appoint an umpire to finally decide the dispute, they may select a fifth member from the division representing the public.

"Article IX.—Emergencies. Should a controversy seem of such magnitude as to justify such action, the officers of the executive committee shall be authorized to call a meeting of the entire executive committee to consider the situation and take such action as may, in its judgment, be required.

"Article X.—Auxiliary committees. The executive committee may appoint auxiliary committees to deal with local disturbances, the rules governing the same to be in harmony with the general purpose of the industrial department."

The Boston strike offered the arbitration committee the first opportunity to use its good offices, but it can hardly be regarded as a real test of efficiency. For one thing, in the Boston strike the all-important feature of "conference before the fact" was not present. Undoubtedly it will take some little time for the committee to ground itself in the confidence of the industrial community to such an extent that recourse will be had to it instinctively when serious trouble is brewing.

The principal efforts to settle the Boston strike were not made until after the fight was on. In fact, it was not until the second day of the contest that any appeal to the arbitration committee for cooperation was made. Moreover, the special "conciliation committee" had not even been appointed and has only just been announced (March 21st) by Chairman Hanna. It consists of the officers of the executive committee,—Senator Hanna, chairman; Samuel Gompers, first vice-president; Oscar S. Straus, second vice-president; Charles A. Moore, treasurer, and Ralph M. Easley, secretary; and in addition Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Potter, Franklin McVeagh, John Mitchell, Frank P. Sargent, James Duncan, J. Kruttschnitt, William H. Pfahler and Marcus H. Marks.

Current Price
Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Mar. 21, 1901	Dec. 21, 1901	Mar. 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$4.00	\$3.85	\$3.75
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel)	81 $\frac{3}{8}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{8}$
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel)	49	71 $\frac{1}{8}$	67 $\frac{3}{8}$
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel)	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	49
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.)	15.75	16.75	16.25
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.)	19.50	19.50	19.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.)	7	6 $\frac{7}{8}$	8 $\frac{5}{8}$
Sugar, granulated (lb.)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{9}{10}$	4 $\frac{9}{10}$
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.)	22	25	30
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy (lb.)	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	13
Cotton, middling upland (lb.)	8 $\frac{7}{16}$	8 $\frac{9}{16}$	9 $\frac{1}{16}$
Print cloths (yard)	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	3	3 $\frac{5}{8}$
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	8 $\frac{5}{100}$	7 $\frac{9}{100}$	7 $\frac{10}{100}$
Hides, native steers (lb.)	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	12
Leather, hemlock (lb.)	24	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	25
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.)	15.50	16.00	18.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.)	15.25	15.00	17.50
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	25.60	22.50	26.75

	Mar. 21, 1901	Dec. 21, 1901	Mar. 21, 1902
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . .	16.87½	13.00	12.00
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.)	4.37½	4.00	4.10
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	—	4.40	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.)	—	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg)	—	2.15	2.05

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	Mar. 1, 1901			Feb. 7, 1902			Mar. 7, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	10	0	5	7	6	5	5	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	12	9½	2	9	7	2	13	4½
Copper (" ")	70	13	9	55	2	6	54	12	6
Tin, Straits (" ")	121	5	0	112	10	0	114	10	0
Lead, English pig (" ")	15	1	3	11	13	9	11	17	6
Cotton, middling upland (lb.). . .	0	0	51½	0	0	41½	0	0	43½
Petroleum (gallon)	0	0	6½	0	0	6½	0	0	61½

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for February 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Mar. 1, 1898	Mar. 1, 1899	Mar. 1, 1900	Mar. 1, 1901	Feb. 1, 1902	Mar. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . . .	\$17.700	\$14.242	\$14.709	\$13.512	\$15.070	\$19.505	\$19.868
Meats	7.895	7.860	7.927	8.571	8.696	9.494	9.884
Dairy and garden	13.180	11.745	11.825	12.319	13.898	14.384	15.611
Other food . . .	9.185	8.408	9.086	9.389	9.396	8.961	8.910
Clothing	13.430	14.892	14.530	17.750	15.460	15.460	15.498
Metals.	14.665	11.798	13.540	18.149	15.875	15.494	15.563
Miscellaneous . .	13.767	12.188	12.545	16.911	16.471	16.278	16.259
Total	\$89.822	\$81.133	\$84.162	\$96.601	\$94.866	\$99.576	\$101.593

The month of February showed a slight recovery from the declining prices of January, due in part to extraordinary weather conditions, causing interruption of both productive and distributive operations. As for some time past, the leading advances are in agricultural products, the miscellaneous group showing a slight decline.

PHILIPPINE FUNDAMENTALS

JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, LL. D.

The future of the Philippines is an open question. The American people have never passed upon the ultimate destiny of the archipelago. By the terms of the treaty of Paris, the congress of the United States was required to determine the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants; but this obligation congress has not as yet discharged. Our sovereignty over the archipelago is unimpeachable in the forum of international law, but neither our acceptance of sovereignty from Spain nor our assertion of it by force in the face of native opposition requires us to retain that sovereignty or forbids us to delegate it to the Filipinos themselves. We are free to stay in the archipelago or to withdraw from it; to incorporate it into the United States of America or to set it up as a sister republic in Asia; to grant independence to the inhabitants or to retain them in forcible subjection.

One thing only we have definitely settled, and that concerns not the future, but the past. We have refused to recognize Aguinaldo and his mushroom Tagalog republic as adequate or authorized exponents of the will and sentiment of the people of the Philippine Islands. When that military oligarchy of Tagalogs demanded that we should hand over to them the sovereignty over the entire archipelago, which Spain had ceded to us after centuries of uninterrupted possession, it was not the American way tamely to submit to this usurpation of authority, still less to force, to which so speedily, and, in their own interests, so mistakenly, the insurgents made their appeal. But our rejection of

these ambitious claimants of power is no bar to the legitimate rights of the people of the Philippine Islands and no reflection upon the glorious principle that all just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. If we put down usurpers, it was because we held sovereignty in trust for the benefit of the entire population. The question how we shall now or hereafter administer that trust is in no way affected, and its solution in nowise forestalled, by the military or other operations which we have found it necessary to undertake in order to preserve inviolate the solemn trust itself.

That our hands are absolutely free in the Philippines, that we stand uncommitted to any particular policy for the future, is a fact of cardinal importance, which, however, some people are apt to forget or at any rate to ignore. I recommend this class of somnolent thinkers to turn to the party platform on which Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt were elected in 1900. Is there any jingoism there? Not a word of it. The keynote of the Philippine plank of that platform is the conception of "responsibility" with which it begins. Here is the passage in its entirety:

"In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the president and the senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government, and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and, whatever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law."

Thus duty carried us to the Philippines and duty

governs our conduct in the Philippines. Nay, duty is to determine our stay; for, as the measure of home rule which the Filipinos are to enjoy is to be limited only by "their welfare and our duties," we might withdraw our sovereignty as soon as the Filipinos are capable of undertaking the obligations imposed upon us by the title of sovereignty. There is, therefore, nothing in the national platform of the republican party, on which Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt stood and were elected, to warrant any republican in indulging in flings at anti-imperialism or in assertions to the effect that we must hold the Philippines forever, even though the natives desire and are fit for independence. I repeat, the future of the Philippines is an open question. And I will add that, as anti-imperialist republicans are no less true to the republican platform of 1900, so in the future they will be at least as helpful as pro-colonial and jingoist republicans in aiding us to reach a wise solution of our Philippine perplexities.

But just because the Philippine question is an open question it needs to be freely discussed and considered by the American people. The animating and regulating principle of our democracy is public opinion. In kingdoms and empires rulers may impose their own will upon their subjects, who are required or expected to acquiesce; but in a republic like ours the people are sovereign, and the fellow-citizens whom they elect to office are their servants. Members of congress even are but delegates sent to Washington to execute the will of their constituents; and, as they are the servants of the people, other civil officials and military officers have still less authority. This is not the English theory of government, but it is the American theory. And lest officials should grasp at larger power or prove recreant to their trust, the constitution and laws limit the functions of all government agents by numerous

sub-divisions and make the term of all executive and legislative officials exceedingly brief. But even that is not enough. During their tenure of office these officials are all subject to the control of public opinion. The sovereign people keep a constant eye upon their government, advising it through all sorts of organs what they want done and warning it not to do what they believe better undone. Without this constant surveillance of government by the people as a whole the American republic would not be the democracy it is and has been.

Now, the Philippine question is one of the most difficult, and in its consequences far-reaching, that has ever come before the American people. In gravity and political pregnancy it yields, I suppose, among all our national issues, to slavery alone. It is of supreme importance, therefore, that the American people should ascertain the facts, understand the material considerations and the moral and political principles involved, weigh the consequences both to ourselves and the Filipinos of the different lines of policy proposed, and endeavor to reach some conclusion in regard to what it is right and expedient for us to do in the premises. But for this all-important function of education we are dependent almost entirely upon agitation and discussion. When, therefore, I hear men in these opening years of the new century reprobate discussion of the greatest of public affairs, when even civil and military officials, in spite of the assurance of the government that the pacification of the Philippines is now practically complete, conjure their fellow-citizens to hold their tongues and swallow a Philippine policy of *Us and Silence*, I feel that, however brave and patriotic these spokesmen may be, they are champions of a new faith which is treason to democracy and which, if it ever prevailed, would be death to the American republic. Even if free speech

and unlimited discussion in the United States had the effect throughout all the Philippine archipelago of rendering the natives dissatisfied with our present military and semi-military government, and inspired them with the love and hope of liberty and independence, so that larger armies would be needed to keep them in colonial subjection,—that, ay and more than that, would be preferable, and infinitely preferable, to our renunciation of the principle of free speech, of the sovereignty of public opinion, of government of the people, for the people, and by the people, which is the soul and glory of our republic. To attack or belittle popular government, to decry free speech and discussion by which it lives and acts, is to plunge the sword into our mother's bosom, because the outgoings of her heart of charity render some remote ward too hopeful and independent to suit our temporary convenience. We can live without the Philippines, but the republic cannot endure without free discussion. The people have a right to talk and will talk, whatever their servants, civil or military, may choose to say about it. Had these servants of the sovereign people, who now pose as masters, more wisdom and sagacity, they would perceive that in a free republic it is only a policy of despair which would hide behind a conspiracy of silence.

I have shown that the future of the Philippines is an open question, that it is the imperative duty of the American people to decide it, and that it can be settled wisely only after the fullest and freest discussion, which, as the practically complete pacification of the islands has been officially announced, is not only opportunity but necessary at the present time. That being so, I go on to inquire what the fundamental considerations are by which the settlement of the Philippine question will be controlled.

These considerations, expressed in the most gen-

eral terms, are sentiment and material advantage. In politics, as elsewhere, men are at once realistic and idealistic; and more perhaps in questions of national policy than in the issue of individual life the ideal is subordinated to the material and the useful. But questions of high statesmanship, like the future disposition of the Philippines, cannot be divested of those features which appeal primarily to imagination, to sentiment, to honor, and to conscience. Even if it be admitted that the material forces at work may prove stronger than the ideal and moral forces, these are palpably perceptible and very potent. And the two sets of forces are operating on the minds both of the people of the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands. Hence in the long run, and allowing for the inertia of circumstances as they are, the attraction which will unite or the repulsion which will dis sever the Philippine Islands and the United States will be the resultant of the forces of advantage and sentiment as these are conceived and felt by Americans and Filipinos respectively.

What, then, is the advantage to the people or government of the United States of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands? Naval stations in different parts of the world are in modern times highly advantageous; and I take it for granted that, whatever disposition be ultimately made of the Philippines, the American government will retain one or more naval stations in the archipelago, as it has already done in the island of Cuba. For the enjoyment of this advantage, however, sovereignty over the Philippines is no more necessary than sovereignty over Cuba. What then remains? We speak of our territorial acquisition from Spain as *insular possessions*; but do we own anything in the Philippines? The title to the public lands rests indeed in the United States, but we hold them in trust for the Philippine

people and government; and apart from these, everything else in the Philippines, as in the United States, is the property of individuals or private corporations. In our so-called "possessions," therefore, neither individual Americans nor the American people or government really possess anything. The word "possessions" is a survival from barbarous times, when conquering nations seized the lands of the conquered or levied tribute upon them. This was the way of the ancient world, and it was followed by Rome. Even England started on that career in India, where, at the battle of Plassy in 1757, she won her first territorial gains. Till 1773 about two million pounds a year was paid by the East India Company to the British exchequer; but since that date Britain has drawn no tribute from India. The change of view which has come over the modern world is well described by Mr. Bryce when he says that "the idea that the government of subject-races is to be regarded as a trust to be discharged with a sense of responsibility to God and to humanity at large has become generally accepted." *

What, then, is the advantage of dependencies to the sovereign state? The trade of India is open to the world on the same terms as it is to England. We ourselves maintain the open-door policy in the Philippines, which is undoubtedly wise. Thus, as we "possess" nothing in the Philippines in virtue of our sovereignty, and receive neither gold nor silver as tribute, neither do we enjoy any advantage in trade or commerce.

It follows, then, that our "possession" of colonies or dependencies is of absolutely no advantage to us. This conclusion has long since been reached in England, even by expansionists. Thus Sir John Seeley, in 1885, wrote in his "Expansion of England," in regard

*"Studies in History and Jurisprudence," p. 25.

to the British empire in India, that by it England "incurred vast responsibilities which were compensated by no advantages."* In general, the government of a subject people brings only responsibility to the sovereign state. Indeed, it may be a source of weakness and danger. Here is what Mr. Bryce, statesman and philosophical historian, declared to be the findings of history, based on a varied experience during the last ten generations:

"But during the last three centuries the experience of military powers has been that the acquisition of masses of subjects who, being already civilized, are likely to resist absorption and to remain disaffected, is a doubtful gain and may become a danger to the conquering state."†

Suppose, what it is almost profanation even to suppose, a war between the United States and Great Britain; and suppose that in this fratricidal conflict the United States is victorious, and that Great Britain has to cede us as a war indemnity whatever of her outlying empire we demand. We should, of course, take Canada, not only because it is contiguous and largely unoccupied territory, but because it is inhabited by a kindred people, who share our political habits, ideas, and traditions, and whose provinces, therefore, might be incorporated as states in our union. That would be a real accession of strength to the United States. Now, what of India, where a thousand Englishmen govern 300,000,000 people despotically and with military compulsion? The government of the United States would be foolish to take it on any terms, for we could not govern it without violating the sacred principles of our own republic; and, even if we were ready to become despots, we should derive no advantage from the undertaking, while we should seriously impair our condition in the world by shouldering such an enormous responsibility. In the Philippines our bur-

*p. 304. † "Studies in History and Jurisprudence," p. 259.

den, though not so heavy, is equally embarrassing to our principles and profitless to our pockets.

As to the interests of the Filipinos, the action of congress in refusing to reduce the Dingley rates on Philippine imports into the United States more than twenty-five per cent. (to say nothing of its inaction in regard to Cuba) shows that no great trade advantages can be expected by the people of our new dependencies. Perhaps we may hope that a good American government in the Philippines will lead to the incoming of capital, the development of the resources of the country, and the expansion of industries. But if other material advantages accrue to the Filipinos in consequence of American sovereignty, these will be in the nature of public improvements—roads, railways, etc.—for which the Filipinos will be required to pay taxes, while the government, wholly or dominantly American, will direct the expenditure of the revenues thus collected. Under these circumstances it is not necessary to consider further the advantages which the Filipinos will receive from the establishment of American sovereignty; and in any event this question is for the man on the street of much less moment than the advantage to ourselves.

I turn, therefore, to the other controlling factor in the settlement of the Philippine problem. This is psychological, not physical; ideal, not utilitarian. The inquiry is into the nature and significance of the sentiments, both moral and political, which have been awakened in the minds of Americans and Filipinos by the situation in which both these peoples find themselves in the Philippine Islands.

Now, the Filipinos, like other nations, desire good government; but there is something they desire more ardently. A good government imposed upon them by a foreign nation—especially of alien race and different

color—is not at all to their taste. They desire to conduct their own government, even if the result seems to us far inferior. In short, they think they have a right to their own country, a right to govern themselves, a right to determine their own destiny. They want, in a word, liberty and independence. You could not find in all the islands a single Filipino who favors colonial dependence on the United States. If the Filipinos come to believe that our jingoes and imperialists represent the mind of the American people, they will, like the Boers, fight till they are annihilated: our crowning victory would be their utter extinction. Our assertion of sovereignty is supported at the present time only by the federal party, who are numerically small, who are held together by the cohesive force of public office, and who, worst of all, are animated by the delusion (which is the foremost plank of their platform) that the Philippine Islands will be admitted, first as a territory and then as a state, into the American union. Apart from this exception, which rests on a misapprehension, the Filipinos are opposed to us and unanimously demand independence. *Here* most of those who talk about Philippine affairs have in the past assumed the colonial policy as a matter of course; but this no Filipino will endure. *There* some Filipinos support our sovereignty on the understanding that the Philippine Islands are to be a state of the American Union; but this no American will endure. The final resultant of these psychological forces must be Philippine independence.

There are two distinct groups of Filipinos. First, we have the civilized and Christianized Filipinos of Luzon and the Visayan islands, numbering about 6,500,000 souls. Formerly divided into rival communities, they have been solidly unified by the events of the past few years, and the new-born national consciousness clamors loudly and incessantly for indepen-

dence. Secondly, we have the Mohammedan and heathen tribes of the southern islands—Sulu, Palawan, and the interior of Mindanao—who are estimated to number 1,500,000. These are all tribally organized and ruled by *datos* and *sultans*. Some external sovereign or suzerain they must have; and if we do not retain these southern islands we must hand them over to some other power. Thus, for example, we might exchange them with Great Britain for the British West Indies. But whatever be done with them, the civilized and Christianized democracy of Luzon and the Visayas desire independence. They are fairly entitled to it; and, united as they now are, I think they might very soon be safely entrusted with it. In their educated men, as thorough gentlemen as one meets in Europe or America, this democracy of 6,500,000 Christians has its foreordained leaders.

Let us now survey the force of sentiment as it operates on the mind of the American people. We have seen what the ideals, hopes, aspirations, and asserted rights of the Filipinos are. They appeal to justice, to the sacred name of liberty, to the honor and to the pity of the American people. How then do we feel about it?

First of all, the American people feel themselves under obligations to the civilized world for the maintenance of peace and order, the institution of justice, and the establishment of settled government in the Philippines; and, secondly, as the American people will accept no suggestion from foreign nations in regard to the manner of accomplishing this undertaking, neither will they be bullied by native military usurpers. The task in the Philippines which came to us as a result of the war with Spain we will discharge in our own way with responsibility only to God, to our own consciences, and to the people of the Philippines, especially the civ-

ilized and Christianized people of Luzon and the Visayas, who constitute three-fourths of the entire population and embody its national consciousness and political possibilities.

Subject to the control of this determination to do its own work in the Philippines in its own way, our nation cherishes now, as it has always cherished, an ardent love of liberty and a profound sympathy with all peoples struggling to throw off the yoke of despotism and to achieve national independence. I have already shown that no material interest militates against the outgoing of these sentiments towards the Filipinos; and for that reason it seems to me as certain as anything future can be that when the Filipinos secure an organ of government for the expression of their views and desires, if they ask for independence the American people will grant it—and will rejoice to grant it—provided only they are in a position to relieve us of the international obligations we assumed for the Philippines by the terms of the treaty of Paris. Nor is it only our material interests, our love of liberty, and our sympathy with nationalities struggling for independence that contain the assurance of ultimate Philippine independence. Powerful and conclusive as this combination of real and ideal forces would be, they are also reinforced by the necessities of our form of government, under which it is, even if not constitutionally, at least practically, impossible for us to maintain in the Philippines any government except a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. The American people cannot be democratic at home and despotic in Asia; and independence is the only alternative to despotism in the Philippines, except the admission of the islands as a state in the American union, which is forever impracticable.

When our friend Mr. Bryce says that “the United

States ignore the principles of their Declaration of Independence when they proceed to subjugate by force the Philippine islanders,"* I reply that our action is the result of temporary necessities; and when he concludes that "the Americans will doubtless in time either reconcile themselves to their illogical position or alter it,"† I predict they will alter it. For the controlling factors are material advantage and moral and political sentiment; and both point the way of ultimate independence.

* "Studies in History and Jurisprudence," p. 491. †p. 29.

THE SUGAR PANDEMONIUM

Exciting discussion over public policy is not an unusual experience in this country, but the pandemonium now raging over Cuban sugar is well-nigh unique in political controversy. It usually happens on such occasions that the contention is for or against a certain, fairly well-defined policy, and the political parties are lined up on the affirmative or negative sides. In this case, we have all the heat and acrimony of a political controversy, without any of the order of party conviction. The controversy in and out of congress resembles the clamoring of a mob more than the discussion of a public question. The administration party, which is responsible for whatever is done, has become a fixed mass of confusion, no section of which seems to know just what it wants. The administration is being cited as standing now for this, and now for that. Those who want free sugar or the maximum reduction in the tariff are charging the opposition with disloyalty to the administration, and the latter in turn are charging the others with disloyalty to the party policy and American industries.

As an example of the dazing pandemonium within the administration party itself, take the *New York Tribune*. That paper, formerly a powerful representative of protection, seems to have become so hopelessly mixed on the subject as to hardly be able to discern its right hand from its left. It is plunging into the subject now in this direction and now in that. In its floundering, it is practically repeating the free trade arguments put forth by the *New York Times* and *Evening Post*, and is indulging in quasi-billingsgate towards protectionists that might be expected from the *Philadelphia Record* or

New York Journal. It is doing it all with a dull notion that it is supporting the administration.

All this may do for the enemies of the administration, those who want to break down the tariff policy and bring the administration into disrepute with the people, but it reflects no credit on the majority party in congress, which is responsible for the administration and its policy. To the patriotic citizen who is really concerned for the nation's honor and interest in the situation, the questions that naturally arise are: (1) What is the position of the administration on the subject? (2) Is Cuba actually starving or on the verge of ruin? (3) What are the forces and motives which contribute to this discouraging confusion of opinions? (4) What are the real facts in the situation to-day?

(1) The position of the administration is quite simple and intelligible. It should be remembered, however, that Secretary Root and Governor-General Wood are not the administration. They are not even recognized authorities on the subject of economic policy. The president is the administration; his official utterances on the subject, therefore, are the only authoritative statement of the administration's position, and in his message to congress the president made his position on this subject definite and clear. He said:

"Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation."

This means neither more nor less than that no change in our tariff policy should be permitted which

will injure an American industry. All sympathetic aid for others must stop where injury to our own industries begins. This ought to leave no one in doubt as to the position of the administration as represented by the president. While this states precisely the policy of the administration on tariff legislation, and truly reflects the sentiment of the nation, there has always been a general desire among the American people to befriend Cuba. It was this motive which led to the taking up of arms to free Cuba from the power of Spain, and since the war closed to reconstruct civil institutions and introduce superior systems of sanitation into Cuban cities. The beneficial effects of the latter are so marked that the hotels in Havana now post up notices that there is no danger of yellow fever, and assure Americans and other foreigners that they may visit Cuba without fear of loathsome epidemics, a condition which never before existed in the island. This sympathetic interest in Cuba still exists, and both the administration and the American people would gladly render any possible aid to Cuba, provided it does not injure the industrial interests of our own people.

(2) Is Cuba starving or on the verge of ruin? The fact that the American people are known to be sympathetically and generously inclined towards Cuba gave the discussion of Cuban affairs a philanthropic, rather than strictly economic, aspect. To those interested it was manifest that an appeal to the humane sentiment of the American people, on the ground that the people of Cuba were starving, would be more likely to create a demand for a change of policy than would any strictly economic argument. Hence, this was fixed upon as the plea to make. Accordingly, within the last few weeks, nearly all economic argument has been abandoned and the whole agitation has been an appeal for aid to starving or ruined Cuba.

There is one thing which is an infallible indication of the material condition of the people at any given time: namely, the abundance or scarcity of employment. No matter what the state of civilization, the character of the industries, the grade of social life that exists in a country, however high the civilization, there is always hardship among the laboring class when there is any considerable amount of enforced idleness. When a considerable portion of the people cannot get employment, there is sure to be social hardship and perhaps starvation. On the other hand, however low the civilization, there is never exceptional hardship and starvation when the laborers are fully employed, no matter what the standard of wages may be. The standard of wages under normal conditions of employment will always be adjusted to the established social life and standard of living of the people, so that whenever the people are fully employed they are never starving, or even enduring exceptional industrial or social hardship. Fortunately the facts are against the starvation plea.

We have abundant evidence that the demand for labor in Cuba is greater now than it has been for many years. The witnesses who are interested in the starvation plea, in their testimony before the ways and means committee, admitted that the demand for labor was exceptionally great, and that additional laborers had to be procured from Spain and the Canaries. They even presented the scarcity of labor and the consequent rise of wages as a reason for the low profits that they are now receiving. The truth of this is also indicated by the nature of the conditions. The revolution and war naturally reduced the number of laborers—many were killed, and a much larger number died by disease and privation. With the establishment of peace, the owners of plantations that had not been gobbled up by American promoters and sugar refiners and speculators,

turned their energies to recuperating their sugar estates. To such an extent was this done that the sugar crop has increased from 305,543 to 850,000 tons. Manifestly, this created a great increase in the demand for labor, and accounts for the fact of a tendency to higher wages. All this clearly shows that the working people of Cuba are fully employed, which fact makes starvation, or any unusual degree of hardship among the laboring people, impossible. The simple facts are, therefore, that the cry about starving Cuba is false. Cuba is not starving; on the contrary, her laboring people are better off than they have been in years.

(3) What are the forces and motives which contribute to this discouraging confusion of opinion? If the people of Cuba were starving, it would be quite easy to understand this persistent clamor for over-stepping our policy to aid Cuba, but if there is no starvation or special hardship among the masses of Cuba it becomes a matter of special interest to ascertain what the motives and forces are that are keeping up this crusade. Yet, if we examine the question a little closer, it is not so difficult to see. Between the competition of the bounty-paid sugar in Europe, tending to lower the price, and the increase of wages in Cuba, tending to increase the cost, the profits of the sugar planters were reduced to a minimum. This is slight, to be sure, yet to the extent it existed it was a pressure upon the profit margin. This made a motive for the plantation owners of Cuba to ask for a reduction of the tariff, not to alleviate the starvation at all, for that did not exist, but to increase the profit on sugar. In this there were several other parties who were interested—all the American speculators who had gone to Cuba to buy up dilapidated estates, the large Spanish land owners like Mendoza, with his 27,000 acres, and the American sugar refiners who are also large plantation owners. The latter had

an additional interest: namely, to destroy their great competitors, the beet sugar producers in this country.

At first the movement was confined to Cubans, and then the demand was comparatively modest and the effort reasonably honest. They felt that if the industries of Cuba could have a little exceptional prosperity it would be very helpful to the peaceful establishment of their political institutions, but they never dreamed of asking for free sugar. A small concession was all they hoped for. But this did not satisfy the American contingent in the situation, which had its headquarters in New York. When the Cubans were going to lay their case before President Roosevelt, the American sugar refiners intercepted them and insisted that they make a bold demand for free sugar, accompanying the request with the threat that if they did not, they, the sugar people, would defeat, through their power in the lobby, anything the Cubans might ask. Thus there was practically a combination composed of the American owners of Cuban plantations, the promoters and speculators, the American sugar trust and the Cubans.

As the result of this the demand was boldly made for free sugar. Of course they could not go before the American people with the bald, greedy request to give them over a cent and a half a pound profit out of the American treasury, so they turned on the hose at full force for the starvation plea. Here they found an effective ally in the free trade press of the country, which includes many of the very respectable newspapers in the large cities. These were interested solely in breaking down the protective system. This completed the combination of motives: first, to increase the profits of the sugar refiners; second, to kill the American beet sugar industry; and third, to break down our protective system.

With this combination, or really conspiracy, against

the administration policy, the agitation forged ahead and gained momentum. A literary bureau, under the name of the American Export Association, was established, which has diligently contributed to the pandemonium by reprinting and flooding the mails with the free trade editorials, statements by Secretary Root, extracts from Governor-General Wood's reports, and every form of garbled statement of facts which ingenuity could invent, keeping constantly to the fore the false cry about Cuban starvation. The extent to which misrepresentation has been carried in this case is scarcely surpassed in the political literature of a presidential campaign.

In 1899 Mr. Bayard Cutting published a statement showing that the beet sugar manufacturers could succeed even without protection. He based his whole calculations upon the price of sugar under the McKinley law. Even with sugar on the free list, the price was over 4 cents a pound. Of course he did not foresee that in 1902, under possible free trade, with improved methods of production and the European bounty, sugar would be less than 3 cents a pound, which would necessarily destroy the whole basis of the calculation. Notwithstanding that the conditions had so changed as to destroy the basis of the entire calculation and make it obvious that what Mr. Cutting showed would be profitable in 1899 would be ruinous in 1902, the *New York Evening Post* published the article as having full reference to conditions to-day, and that has been printed and reprinted and circulated by the millions, when it has no more relation to present conditions than the price of cotton cloth has to-day to the price of raw cotton in 1865. The false and actually dishonest use of this document is still going on; even General Wood, in his article in the *Independent*, quoted from it, and the *New York Tribune* is still using it almost every day.

It will be remembered that this combination to raid the Cuban tariff began with a demand for free sugar, and, finding that impossible, has little by little reduced its claim until it is now willing to accept a reduction of 20 per cent. of the duty. It would accept a reduction of 10 per cent. on the same principle that a beggar will take a nickel when he cannot get a dime. Whatever it gets is just so much addition to the profits, and so much satisfaction to the free traders as a step towards breaking down the tariff policy. One thing is quite clear on this point: that the basis of the plea for free sugar or any material reduction—that Cuba is starving—is thoroughly false and hypocritical.

(4) What are the facts in the situation to-day? A great change has taken place in the conditions which must affect the European and, in fact, the world sugar market of the future. The bounties paid by Austria and Germany and other countries made it possible to supply sugar in Europe abnormally cheap. England was a great sugar buyer. This had the same effect on the sugar planters in the British West Indies that it did on the sugar planters of Cuba. The price was so low that it practically made it impossible to place sugar from the British West Indies in the market except at a loss. Notwithstanding that England is a free-trade country, when she saw that this was going to kill the sugar industry in her West Indian colonies, and needing some revenue to carry on the South African war, she announced that she was going to levy a countervailing duty on bounty-paid sugar; in other words, to protect her West Indian sugar industries just as we protect our beet-sugar industry. This was practically serving notice on the bounty-paying countries that their bounties would be neutralized in England just the same as they are here. Consequently

they had a European conference and agreed to abolish the bounties altogether, to take effect in 1903.

Now this changes the entire face of the whole world sugar market for Cuba. Under present conditions Germany could put sugar in the English market at from about a third to a half a cent lower than could Cuba. German sugar received a double bounty—one from the cartel and one from the national government for export. Each bounty is the equivalent of a little over 30 cents a hundred. Thus the abolition of the bounty will add to the present price of German sugar something over .62 of a cent a pound, making it from .10 to .25 of a cent a pound dearer than Cuban sugar. Under these circumstances Cuba will have an advantage even in the European market, to say nothing of the American, over the continental sugar producers.

The situation to-day, therefore, is this: The American market will take all the sugar Cuba can produce for some years to come, and by another year she will have the full benefit of the European market without fear or favor, and with present cost she has a clear advantage. All the reasons that existed six months ago for making concessions to Cuba are practically gone, except so far as the present, and possibly next year's, crop is concerned. All that even generosity demands is simply to give Cuban producers some help as a gratuity for this and next year's crop, but this should be done in some manner without changing the tariff.

Whatever the formal outcome of this confusing agitation may be it will be a victory for the enemies of protection. Whether it is a 20 per cent. reduction of the tariff, or a rebate, or a direct contribution to Cuban planters from the treasury, the result will be a serious, if not mortal, injury to the development of the sugar industry in this country. The injury will not come so much from the cut in the tariff as from the uncertainty

it introduces into the permanence of the tariff policy. It will have a similar effect upon all new investments for the expansion of the beet sugar industry that the appearance of Mr. Cleveland in the white house had upon national industry: namely, to serve notice that protection is in danger. In the Cleveland case the danger to protection was from its avowed enemies; in this case it is from its supposed friends. Capitalists who would have invested in the beet sugar industry with the confidence of adequate protection will now hesitate about risking their capital in such a precarious industry. It is absolutely certain that without protection for some time to come the beet sugar industry in this country cannot prosper. The very fact that this protection is being deserted in the party of its friends will shake the confidence of capital and arrest the progress of the industry. It should be definitely understood that the enemies of protection in this case are not the democrats but reputed republicans, like the *New York Tribune* and Secretary Root, who have encouraged and aided the attack on the tariff.

It was only by the dint of persistent struggle against these forces that the original demand for free sugar has been modified to a 20 per cent. reduction. That a large section of the protection party has deserted the sugar industry will probably give it a staggering, if not a fatal, blow, and for this the administration party is alone responsible, and may expect to be so regarded by the agricultural section of the country, especially in those states whose growing industries have thus been arrested.

EVILS OF SOUTHERN FACTORY LIFE

REV. JESSE ARMON BALDWIN*

Each generation feels anew the force of the Master's statement: "The poor always ye have with you." Because of affliction, mismanagement and wrong-doing many are poor, but the lack of capacity and training for doing any work well is responsible for much more poverty. The best real test of a civilization is its treatment of the poor and the helpless. In heathen countries womanhood is debased and oppressed simply because woman is weaker and more helpless than man. In this country we recognize the duty of caring for the weak in our own homes. But it is also the teaching of the Master that the strong should help all the weak, and that is the highest civilization in which, under the direction of the strong, the weak are given work to do in and by which they may become stronger and better. When the strong fail to do this they are failing in their duty, and will be held responsible for their neglect. With this thought in mind let us look at the condition and needs of the cotton mill operatives of the South, bearing in mind that, while the cotton mill owners must be held responsible, they are not the only strong ones who ought to help in this work, and therefore not the only ones who are responsible. We shall give for the most part some concrete examples and let these tell the story, rather than make general statements.

Agricultural life is always the simplest life, and a change from this to the more complex life of commerce and manufacturing contains possibilities of danger to

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the individual and to society. The growth of the manufacturing industries of the South has not been an exception. After the war the conditions of farm life became harder and harder for the poor white people—among whom were many of good families who had lost their property—and the men who projected and built cotton mills were public benefactors in that they gave poor people work. But much of the praise that would otherwise be their due must be withheld because the conditions of labor have not been such in most cases as to make the workers stronger and better. Others who have indirectly profited by this great industrial development have stood off and criticised owners or operatives, but have not done one thing to uplift and help those in need, either in securing better laws or in furnishing better educational and religious advantages.

Life on the farm, if hard and rough, had also its free and easy side. Life at the mill is regular, systematic, binding. The hours at first were very long—seventy-eight per week and even more. Now a large proportion of the southern mills work sixty-six hours per week. There is an increasing demand for a sixty-hour week.

On the farm all the children helped in the light work of the farm. Small children could pick cotton. They could also hoe while still small, but could work according to their strength and desire. There was no definite task. Besides, there were only about four months in the year when there was work on the farm they could do. When the families moved to the mill, it seemed to them to be all right for the little children to go in. They could not make very much, but it would help, and to many of them it was necessary for the children to work. The work seemed so simple and light that it would not hurt them. As to the children, some begged to be allowed to go into the mill; others

felt very keenly the burdens placed upon them, and have sometimes been forced from home in tears to toil through the weary hours of the day; or, worse, the seemingly endless hours of the night.

At most southern mills, and especially in North Carolina, the superintendents have been compelled to turn off applicants for work. In the fall and winter, after poor crop years, there is always a great exodus to the cotton mills. The past year the crops were poor over most of North Carolina, and a superintendent has just told me that during the last two weeks he has turned off applicants enough to run his mill. This has been the situation for years. The owners would have built more mills but did not have the money, and were in debt in part for those they had built. Night work seemed to be a solution of the difficulty; it would give poor people work, and it would almost double the dividend of the mills, and thus enable the owners to build more mills; so a night shift was put on. This has gone on until a little over a year ago forty-six per cent. of the mills of North Carolina were running also at night; at least the spinning room, where the children work; ran. During the depression of the past year several mills have stopped night work, so the percentage is considerably less now. Night work has proved to be a very great curse. Having begun, however, it is difficult to stop. Let us look at some specific cases with reference to these questions. I gathered some facts from a representative yarn mill. At a representative weaving mill the conditions would be somewhat better.

At this mill there are fifty-four families. At the heads of families there are nine widows. The children of four who pass as widows are illegitimate; two of these women are, however, now among the best women at the mill. One of the other women is a virago. She

is profane herself, and her little ten-year-old daughter, when angry, swears like a hardened criminal. Her influence tends to corrupt the children of the whole community. Of the men, thirty-three work in the mill; four work elsewhere, and one is sick. There are three loafers who live on their children's earnings. One of them is a drunkard, the other two are just lazy.

In this mill there are seven children under twelve years of age. The first case is that of a widow who has several little children, the two eldest being in the mill, one of the two under twelve. They get thirty cents a day each. If the child under twelve did not work, the family would have to be helped. Another widow with three little children works for sixty cents a day and her little girl under twelve gets thirty cents a day. She probably would have to have a little help. One man with seven children gets seventy-five cents a day, one child thirty-five cents, and one under twelve years twenty-five cents. His wife is not a good manager, and it would be hard on him, but he could live. A widow has four children at work, making sixty-five, fifty, thirty-five and twenty-five cents a day, respectively, the last being under twelve. A man has four children, making one dollar, eighty-five cents, sixty cents and thirty cents, the last being under twelve. Both of these families could live very comfortably, and so could the others, without the labor of the children under twelve. I say twelve years, because I think it better to begin any restrictions with that age and gradually advance to fourteen, with some conditions. It would be too great a change to pass a law keeping out those under fourteen, as more than one-sixth of all the operatives are under fourteen.

This mill runs at night in part. Of the fifty-four families, twenty-six work in the day, fourteen at night, and fourteen families are divided, part working in the

day and part at night. It is bad for the home for all the family to work at night; it is worse in some respects for part to work in the day and part at night. In that case the mother has to get up at 4.30 in the morning to get breakfast for the day hands, so they can be at the mill at six; then the night hands come and eat about seven. She has to have dinner ready for the day hands strictly at twelve. The night hands get up and eat from four to five, so as to be ready to go to work for the night at six; she also gives them a lunch to be eaten at midnight. Then the day hands get out at six and have supper about seven. Besides this, there is house-cleaning, washing and ironing, sewing, and often the care of little children. We need not wonder that they fail to do some things that some people think they ought to do, especially when we take into consideration the fact that they had almost no opportunity at all for learning to do things quickly and well. The mills usually run sixty-six hours per week at night; that is, the operatives work twelve hours from Monday night to Friday night inclusive, and on Saturday get up about two o'clock (before they have had enough sleep), to go to work at three. They then work till nine at night. As a matter of fact it is usually ten or eleven when they get out. On Sunday they feel drowsy and dull, and rarely if ever go to Sunday school or to church in the morning. They occasionally go to the evening service, but their church-going habits are broken. They have shut themselves off from almost the only uplifting influence, while the influences that degrade are actively at work.

Night work is much worse in the summer than in the winter. In the winter they go to bed, cover up and sleep soundly. In summer it is difficult to sleep on account of light, heat, flies and noise. In summer, while they usually go to bed, it is a very familiar sight

to see them lying across the bed with their work-clothes on, or on a pallet in the passage or on the porch. Their sleep is fitful and unsatisfying, and they never feel bright and fresh from the beginning to the end of the week. They furnish the most favorable conditions for the development of physical, intellectual and spiritual disease germs. When the mill runs this way, several have to do repair work on Sunday. It is easy to criticise, but it is not easy to correct. To stop all night work at once would throw thousands out of employment. But some things can be done.

A few mills work only sixty hours per week at night. In that case they work twelve hours per night from Monday night to Friday night inclusive, being free from Saturday morning at six o'clock till Monday evening at six. This makes a great deal of difference. Once a week they become thoroughly rested, and they may be bright and fresh on Sunday. Another thing could and should be done: children under fifteen should be kept out at night, and the age limit ought to be increased from time to time until night work is gradually stopped. Nearly all of our mill owners have hearts; many of them feel these things deeply. It is not natural for men to want to have their business interfered with by law; but there are a few big-hearted, broad-minded men who favor moderate legislation, or at least do not oppose it, because they realize that it is the only way to remedy many of the evils of cotton mill life.

These conditions have brought about a great deal of moving, and the moving in turn has made many of the conditions worse. Some families move many times a year. They get so they feel that they really have no home, and so take but little interest in it or in their community. They might have comfortable little cottage homes with flowers and vegetables, but instead

the home is a very dreary-looking place, from which the children are glad to get away. They do not send the children to school, and do not go to church unless sought out; and have scarcely been found by the pastor before they are ready to move again. The better families do not move much. This, however, is the way in which a great many families rapidly degenerate.

Ignorance casts a very dark shadow over the lives of our southern mill people. In North Carolina (and it is about the same in the other southern states), 18 per cent. of the adults and 35 per cent. of the children (those under fourteen) cannot read and write. This does not tell the whole story, for nearly all of those who are reported as being able to read and write are able to do but little more. The great world of good literature is closed to them, except books and papers of the simplest kind. There are public schools at every mill, and they must be depended upon to do the elementary work.

But public schools are not sufficient. There are a great many from twelve to twenty years of age whom the public schools do not and will not reach. I can make this plainer by giving the story of a girl's life. Bessie was nearly nine years old when her parents moved to the mill from a little farm which they owned. There were five girls and two boys, varying in age from six to about twenty years. Bessie was next to the youngest. The oldest children received in the country what is called "a pretty fair old-field school education." Just after they came to the mill, Bessie went to school for the first time. They were running the mill at night also, and all the houses that the company owned and could rent would scarcely hold all the help the mill needed. They did not want to build any more houses, as they did not expect to run at night permanently. They needed some hands, and wanted Bessie.

She was a bright, pretty little girl of nine. There was no need for her to work, but the boss urged, and her father, a good, easy sort of a man, who "didn't want to have no trouble," yielded. She had been going three months when she stopped, and has not gone since, but it is almost impossible for a bright boy or girl to go to the public school after they have begun to work in the mill. Almost every other day the boss wants them to work "just to-day." Then, too, out of school there is a great deal to do at home; there is no quiet place to study, and others are going in and out. In the evening some of her mill friends are almost sure to come in.

So Bessie found it practically impossible to go to school after beginning to work. She is now sixteen and very anxious to go to school. They can manage to live without her work, but there is hardly any probability that they could save enough to send her to school. She will make a good, faithful woman, whether she goes to school or not, but she will be a stronger, happier, more useful woman if she can have simply the opportunity to learn. Must she, with bright, longing eyes, see multitudes of girls like herself go with slow, unwilling steps to school, while the door of opportunity is closed to her? Even if it were open, to what school would she go? She might go away to a high school where expenses are low, if she had the money; but she hasn't the money. Then, too, she would be put in a class with little children. That wouldn't work very well, for the teaching ought to be rather different, and she would feel humiliated by her ignorance. We have a few industrial schools, but they are all full. We simply haven't a school for her. Now, what kind of a school does she need? and what kind of a school does a boy brought up similarly need?

First of all, they need a school in which they can be taught by some one who understands their needs.

They should be taught to read and to have opened to them some of the best literature. They should learn as much as possible of the world about them and so should study geography, history, botany, etc. They should learn to write and express their thoughts in words. They should study arithmetic, and the boys should have a special course in arithmetic, as they need it in their work. In connection with this, the girls ought to be taught how to cook. Every girl ought to know how to cook, but working in a mill isn't a good way to learn. After a girl works in the mill eleven or twelve hours, she doesn't feel like cooking. Many a girl marries at eighteen or twenty, after having worked in the mill continuously for years. They do not know how to cook. They can bake some bread after a sort, they can fry some meat, they can boil some vegetables; they do not know anything about the suitability of different foods or the proper methods of cooking.

If they knew how, they could live much better than they do on even less money. Indigestion is said to be the most common American disease. It is worse at the mills than elsewhere. They get up early, eat a little breakfast, a hurried dinner, and a very hearty supper, often of unsuitable food, improperly, if not unpalatably, cooked. Nearly everybody suffers more or less from indigestion. Again, people generally like to do what they can do well. These girls can do the mill work well; they cannot cook and keep house well; so they prefer working in the mill to housekeeping. They ought also to be taught to sew, the kind of sewing they will need. They should be taught how to make a room pretty at small cost, and, in fact, all the details of decent housekeeping that every girl ought to know.

The boys ought to have a textile training. I believe that the cotton mill workers of the South (and the same kind of people in the rural sections) are not sur-

passed, if equalled, by any unskilled working people in the world. But they are unskilled. It would surprise a great many people to learn how little many of the room-bosses, and even superintendents, really know. Only a few weeks ago one superintendent and five room-bosses were thrown together, and an example like this came up: Multiply 2548 by 406. They all worked it, multiplying by the 0 as if it had been a 1. It didn't seem right to one of the bosses, who brought it to his superintendent, an educated man, and he explained it to him. There are many superintendents who have only education enough to make the simplest calculations. They are succeeding in spite of these hindrances. But they would succeed much better if they had even a little education. A superintendent told me a few days ago of a young man who is working as a second hand for one dollar per day. He knows the machinery, he knows how to manage the help, but he hasn't education enough to keep the time (a very easy thing) and to make a few simple calculations. If he knew just this, the superintendent said, he could be boss of a room and receive from \$2.00 to \$4.00 per day. This young man came to the mill when a little boy with his widowed mother, and has been very unselfish in caring for her and the other members of the family. Even a short period of training would mean a very great deal to such young men. There are a great many of them. We have a few textile schools, but they are not reaching these young men, and cannot.

Then there ought to be religious training, and emphasis should be laid upon the importance of becoming strong, not only for their own sake but for the sake of others as well. They should be made to feel the importance of going back to their homes, to be good housekeepers and to teach their friends to be, if not directly at least indirectly; and in some cases of

peculiar fitness to give their whole time to teaching or to religious work. There are, here and there, quite a number who have special qualifications for such work. The South needs a school to train these young people. In its teachings, this school should emphasize the doctrine of good housekeeping, of pretty surroundings, of personal cleanliness, of the dignity of faithful, skilful labor, and of the beauty of pure, unselfish and heroic living.

Such a school, in the second place, should be largely self-supporting. The students should be given an opportunity to work part of the time, so as to gain a support while learning. Very few can or do save up enough money to pay their way, but one or two out of a family can be spared if they pay their own way, or do so lacking only a small amount. At almost every mill there are from two to a dozen bright, ambitious boys and girls who would be anxious to go if they could go that way.

Is it possible to have any institution embodying these features? It may be permitted the writer to say that he believes it is, and to such an extent that he has dedicated his life to it. His plan is as follows:

Have a boarding school, and in connection with it a cotton mill, built for the purpose. Let there be two sets of hands, one to work in the morning and go to school in the afternoon, and the other to go to school in the morning and work in the afternoon. In this way they could sleep eight hours, work six, have three for meals and recreation, and seven for school. The six hours' work would pay their expenses at this school. Five hours' work might pay the expenses of the better workers. Give the instruction noted above. Let those from the farm work part of the time on the farm furnishing milk and butter and vegetables for the school, and raising vegetables and canning them. This would, of

course, have to be run strictly on business principles, and with the cooperation of men who have succeeded in these several lines of work.

There are hundreds who could go in this way and are anxious to do so. At present they see nothing before them but a treadmill life. Such a school as described above would thrill with hope and courage many a boy and girl now struggling in the mill and on the farm. A bright girl of 17 said to the writer a short while ago, after a notice of the above school appeared in the local paper: "I want to go so bad I don't know what to do. I haven't been able to think about anything else since I read it. My father says I may go."

It may be well doubted if there is a more neglected or needier field than this in the whole country, or one whiter to the harvest. But the laborers are few. Good men and women must see that it does not remain so.

IS LABOR INSURANCE FEASIBLE ?

The recent lecture on "The Dead Line of Labor," published in the *Lecture Bulletin* of the Institute of Social Economics,* has called forth considerable discussion in the press, and many questions from individual correspondents, regarding the feasibility of the plan there presented for a national system of labor insurance. It is obvious that something better than poor relief must be found to deal with workmen retired on account of old age, a condition which is necessarily a permanent feature of modern industry. This subject has been investigated to a greater or less extent in every machine-using country, because these facts furnish a serious aspect of the social problem. The various commissions that have investigated the subject in England, for instance, have reported that the men employed at the timber wharves have to drop out at about forty-five—the age at which the Chicago labor unions thought the dead line should be drawn. Sailors, it is found, have great difficulty in finding employment after fifty-five; dockers are termed "old men" at forty-five, and weavers in stuffy cotton factories in Lancashire break down at about fifty, and either have to quit or mind half the number of looms. The limit for gas stokers was also found to be fifty, and so on through the list.

To meet this condition by pauper aid is absolutely out of the question in the United States. The American laborer will not endure the idea of charity, nor should he. If some method is not found by which this inevitable situation can be met in an economic way without reducing the laborers to the humiliating condition of paupers or recipients of charity in any way, nothing can prevent an experiment with some form of

* February 15th, 1902.

socialism. The enforced and inevitable displacement of the laborer at the close of an industrious life of over forty years continuous labor easily lends itself to every theory of social disintegration. Although this is admittedly not the result of personal meanness on the part of employers, it is none the less galling for laborers to anticipate and endure. Indeed, the fact that it is involuntary, and a part of the system, is made the ground for demanding a radical change in the character and constitution of society itself.

The only workable principle yet discovered to take care of and compensate for the inevitable displacements in life is insurance. This has been so extensively experimented with that it has become the accepted principle in nearly all forms of human experience. It has been found comparatively easy to apply the principle of insurance to all forms of property risks and also to health and life itself, but thus far insurance has been applied by the individual to his own personal interests. In the case of laborers it is a question of applying insurance to three-quarters of society, and applying it in such a way that it shall be automatic in its operation.

It is not surprising that, regarding a matter of such magnitude, the question should be asked: Is it feasible? Because, after all, however plausible the thing may be in the abstract, or commendable in motive, its advantage depends on its feasibility as a working scheme.

Among the friendly critics of the lecture on "The Dead Line of Labor" is the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, which says:

"The plan is a humane one, and its practical difficulties could, doubtless, be overcome. However, it undeniably runs counter to the whole American ideal of successful life. It admits that millions—the great majority of the nation—are born to serve others, and can never be given even the most modest material independence. The American ideal is ever holding out to the humblest the hope of independence ac-

ording to his capacity. That hope, that ideal, the American people will not willingly abandon."

It is highly probable that on this point the *Inter-Ocean* expresses the feeling, if not the conviction, of a very large number, perhaps a majority, of the American people. Nevertheless, its remarks about individual independence are essentially erroneous. They rest on the delusive assumption that all can be capitalists and employers, and that those who work for others are necessarily servile. This is all a mistake.

The great fact in modern society is that all the tendencies of progress are in the direction of a larger and larger proportion of society working under the management, direction and responsibility of others. This is a part of the advancing economic efficiency of society. All the use of improved methods makes this inevitable. This means that to a greater and greater extent industrial society must be organized into groups, in which the great mass work with others as a part of a colossal system, for stipulated wages. From this condition there is no escape except by returning to the simpler forms of industry and resolving society back to barbarism.

Nor does this involve any menial service whatever. The *Inter-Ocean's* remark, "They are born to serve others," does not state the case. That is feeling, not facts. Working in large groups under central management is not serving others; it is serving self by working with others under the most advantageous conditions. The element of individual independence, freedom from servile relations, does not depend at all upon whether we work for ourselves—isolated from others—or whether we work for ourselves as a part of a great system jointly with others, but it depends entirely upon *how much we get for our work*. The laborer who, like the cobbler, works for himself, owning his own material, selling his own products and doing the whole of

the work, is working at the greatest disadvantage; he works harder, works more hours and gets less for his work than those who work conjointly with others with superior methods and under expert direction.

The modern organization of industry into large concerns tends to increase the stability and permanence of employment and continuity of wages, and, after all, nothing is quite so conducive to welfare and progress as permanence of employment and the freedom from precariousness of income. It is for these reasons that the laborer to-day is better off than was the laborer of any preceding period in the world's history. Every step we follow backwards toward the point where each laborer was his own employer, with all the responsibility involved, we go towards a lower and poorer and more precarious state of industrial and social existence. Laborers are independent in all that independence really means; they are independent as to choice of industrial opportunities, as to social life, as to individuality of character and expression, just in proportion as the permanence and size of their income increases. No matter for whom or how the laborer works, he will never have any freedom that really amounts to much on a dollar or less than a dollar a day, and no amount of capital or authority can prevent the freedom of the laborer who gets five, ten or more dollars a day.

In other words, all that is implied in the American ideal of independence is secured by high wages and large salaries, and never can be enjoyed with low wages and precarious occupation, no matter whether the laborer works for himself or for others. So that, this notion that to work for others is humiliating and contrary to progress towards high ideal society is fundamentally wrong. On the contrary, it is directly in the line of social and individual advancement. Great wealth and consequently greater freedom for all lies in the

direction of the most perfect economic organization of society. Whatever makes nature yield the most for the least expenditure of human energy adds to the wealth, welfare and freedom of the people.

It is, therefore, not a reconstruction of society that is needed, but a scientific adjustment of the existing mechanism; and it is in this respect that insurance has been introduced in nearly all the other phases of economic and social experience. The demand is to go one step farther and apply the principle which has been so successful everywhere else to the laborer. The naturalness of this step is indicated by the fact that there is an almost universal tendency to look to insurance as the remedy for the evil of enforced labor displacement. Almost every country in Europe has experimented to a greater or lesser degree with the question of labor insurance. To be sure, they have all approached the subject somewhat differently, according to the habits and political institutions and industrial status of labor in the different countries, but, in some form or other, the principle of insuring laborers against the hardships of old age has been made compulsory in Germany, France, England, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, New Zealand and New South Wales. The peculiar feature of all this is that the attempts have been for the most part partial and crude, in some cases making the laborers contribute a part, the government a part and the employers a part, as in Germany, while in other cases the entire amount is furnished by the government. Slight as are the benefits, and defective as are most of these schemes, not one has been abandoned after it was once begun. In other words, the feasibility has always been sufficiently great to warrant the continuance of the system, the changes being in the line of improvement and never towards abandonment.

This tends to show, by well-nigh universal experience, that the principle itself is sound. In this country, where we do everything on the individual plan, government has done nothing in this direction, but the experiment has been and is being made by numerous large corporations.

In California a company has been organized to insure laborers against loss from enforced idleness. On the payment of a certain premium it is proposed to insure the laborer three-quarters of his wages or salary for a month, whenever he is out of employment, the theory being that within a month he will find a new situation. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has for some time had a system of pensioning its employees, and the experience from this has been sufficiently encouraging to warrant an extension of the plan which has recently been put in operation. The Illinois Central railroad has also recently announced a plan of old-age insurance which provides for the laborer's retirement at 60, unless a continuance of service is mutually agreed upon. Both the Illinois Central and the Pennsylvania systems provide an age limit for taking on new laborers, and the age for taking on inexperienced persons is much younger than for taking on experienced hands, all of which shows that the deadly age limit really exists. The Montreal street railway has just adopted a system insuring its employees against accident or total disablement to the limited extent of a thousand dollars. The Lackawanna railroad has just decided to adopt a system of labor insurance for its laborers. The retiring age in the Lackawanna system is 65 years. The retired payment is graded according to the length of service. For laborers whose wages were 60 dollars a month and who have been in the employ of the company for 10 years the pension will be 18 dollars a month.

Now the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of New York city announces that it has decided to adopt a method of labor insurance for its employees. The following is the official notice of the plan, issued by President Vreeland:

"NEW YORK, March 6, 1902.

"To All Employees: The plan I have long had in mind of establishing a pension system for the relief of the superannuated employees of this company, members of the Metropolitan Street Railway Association, whose annual maximum wages have not exceeded \$1,200 dollars per annum, has finally been perfected, and will be put into effect on or before July 1. The specific regulations are now being drafted, and will, in due course, be distributed for your further information.

"This pension system provides for voluntary and involuntary retirement of all employees so included, between the ages of sixty-five and seventy, after twenty-five years' service in the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, or any of its constituent companies. Employees benefited by the system will be of two classes:

"First—All employees who have attained the age of seventy years, who have been continuously in such service for twenty-five years or more preceding such date of maturity; and,

"Second—All employees from sixty-five to sixty-nine years old who have been twenty-five years or more in such service, who, in the opinion of the trustees of the pension, have become physically disqualified.

"All employees of seventy years will be considered to have attained a maximum age allowed for active service, and will be retired by age limit; while those whose ages range from sixty-five to sixty-nine may, upon examination, be retired under pension if found incapable.

"The pension allowance to such retired employees shall be upon the following basis:

"(a) If service has been continuous for thirty five years or more, 40 per cent. of the average annual wages for the ten previous years.

"(b) If service has been continuous for thirty years, 30 per cent. of the average annual wages for the ten previous years.

"(c) If service has been continuous for twenty-five years, 25 per cent. of the average annual wages for the ten previous years.

"The fund from which payments will be made will be appropriated each year by the company, and employees will not be required to contribute to it.

"My object in establishing this department is to preserve the future welfare of aged and infirm employees, and to recognize efficient and loyal service."

This shows that the principle of labor insurance is feasible and is gradually growing in the appreciation of

men of affairs. Indeed, the soundness of the principle is no longer in question. The only question is how to apply it so as to secure the maximum effect at the minimum cost without impairing the individual freedom and industrial mobility of laborers. While all the efforts now being made by large-minded and public-spirited managers of great corporations to apply the principle of insurance show a laudable desire to mitigate the inevitable hardships of old age discharge, it is manifest that the best results from insurance cannot be secured by the isolated action of individual corporations. It will be seen that all efforts of this kind have one great disadvantage: namely, that the laborers can only get the benefit of the insurance by remaining continuously in the employ of the same corporation. If they leave, for whatever reason, they necessarily lose the benefits of the insurance. If a laborer had worked twenty years for a corporation and then left to work for another, the twenty years' satisfactory service for the former corporation would count for nothing, and the short term of service to the new firm would entitle him to very little insurance. The practical effect of this is to restrict the freedom with which laborers can move from one place or one employer to another. This is a positive disadvantage to the laborer. It is one of the great opportunities for improvement that laborers shall have the maximum industrial mobility. Anything which increases the difficulty of the laborer changing his employer or location lessens his ability to improve his condition. This is not an objection to the principle or feasibility of insurance, but only to its isolated application by individual firms. The remedy for this, and it is ample and complete, is to make the system national instead of each corporation constructing a system of its own different from every other. We should then have one general system, which would be applied to all the industries

of the nation. There would be a marked advantage in this to both employers and laborers.

The advantage to employers would be (1) that all employers would be on the same level regarding insurance, and whatever tax it was upon industry would be equally distributed in all the industries of the country; (2) it would be less expensive to administer a large national system than a multitude of small different systems; (3) the comparatively small per cent. of laborers who would actually come to receive the old age insurance would make one per cent. on wages furnish an endowment probably twice as large as would two per cent. under the administration of individual concerns.

The advantage to laborers would be (1) that all laborers in all occupations would get the benefit of the insurance; (2) that it would not in the least interfere with the absolute freedom of laborers to change employers, occupations or localities, because no laborer would, under this system, sacrifice his interest in insurance by any action he might take in his own interest. He would be just as free to organize, to ask for higher wages, and indeed to strike if necessary, and change his employer as often as his interest required, as he is now.

All this could be accomplished, the best results of the system secured, and the maximum amount of insurance given for the minimum amount of premium, by making the system national. Moreover, this would relieve the employers from the labor and expense of running the system each for himself by making the government the custodian of the funds and distributor of the insurance. All the employers would have to do would be to pay to the government a sum equal to one per cent. of their pay rolls, and the rest would be taken care of by the government machinery as completely as is the post-office. Under this system the laborers would be under no personal obligation to any individual employer for

the insurance, and the employer would be under no moral obligation to keep a laborer when he had passed the age of efficiency. This is one of the great steps, and ought to be the next step, in economic adjustment. It should not be left to the philanthropic impulses of individual employers or corporations, but should be made a part of the national policy. It is encouraging to note that some progress has already been made in this direction. In 1900 the national platform of the republican party favored definitely labor insurance, as follows:

"In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, *and an effective system of labor insurance.*"

This declaration committed the republican party to the principle of labor insurance. It only remains to support the efforts of these corporations individually experimenting, create a public opinion emphasizing this statement in the republican platform, to convert what are now philanthropic experiments into a national system of labor insurance that would forever remove one of the most disturbing and depressing features from our industrial system.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

S. E. FORMAN, Ph. D.

In recent publications it has been charged that the public schools are the birthplace of anarchy. It is difficult to see how this imputation could have arisen. The combination of diabolism and false philosophy known as anarchy is the outgrowth of nothing that is American, and the charge that it is the product of any American institution is unreasonable and unjust. Nevertheless, in diagnosing the body politic, the public schools should be subjected to a severe scrutiny. It is not certain that this indispensable adjunct of democracy, the public school system, is doing all for the cause of good government that it should do. In some instances our schools have fallen into the hands of unfortunate reformers, and are the victims of theories and fads. Sometimes they suffer from the bane of officialism. In one great city the teachers are afraid of the principals, the principals are afraid of the superintendent, the superintendent is afraid of the politicians, and the children are afraid of nothing upon earth. Where such conditions prevail discipline is often loose, and the schools are far from being nurseries of law and order.

In one respect the schools certainly fail to contribute to the cause of good government as they should. They do not, the country over, provide for the definite, systematic training of as many pupils as possible in the elements of civics. There is some teaching of civil government, but this subject, as usually taught, treats only of the political side of citizenship, of government as the organism by which the will of society is expressed; it is silent as to the social and economic principles that should guide voters in the expression of

their will. The civics that should be taught in the schools should aim to train for all the civic duties, social and economic, as well as political. With this conception of civics, training for citizenship would cease to be the one-sided and unfruitful affair it now is. Even the partial training afforded by civil government is but sparingly given in the schools. Millions of pupils who are capable of receiving valuable instruction in citizenship are allowed to leave school entirely ignorant of the rudiments of political and economic science.

The teaching of what is called civics, but what is, in fact, nothing more than civil government, is postponed to the last years of the high school, where less than four per cent. of the total enrollment can be reached, and even here the subject receives but small attention. The report of the commissioner of education of 1898 shows that in the secondary schools of the country fewer pupils are studying civics than are studying Latin or geometry or rhetoric. The same report makes it clear that not one pupil in a hundred, the country over, is receiving formal instruction in citizenship; in a few states not one pupil in a thousand is receiving such instruction. Is not this a poor showing for a country that has staked all upon self-government, all upon the ability of the masses to vote intelligently and direct public affairs wisely?

We are inspired by the spectacle of a presidential election. On a certain day in November fifteen millions of freemen enter the great council chamber of the republic, the polling-booths, to choose a ruler and to decide upon the policies of the nation. Each voter of this stupendous throng is subject and sovereign of himself, knowing no master but his own will, seeking no sanction but that of his own conscience; with a keen appreciation of his power, and a deep sense of his responsibility, he casts his ballot, fearlessly, intelli-

gently, reverently. The votes are counted, and the voice that is heard is the voice of God! This is the language of the political rhapsodist, but what is the language of soberness and truth? What does the dispassionate eye-witness see in this vast quadrennial folk-moot? Millions of virtuous, patriotic, intelligent voters mingled with millions of venal voters, ignorant voters, blind partisan voters. This is the dreadful fact of our democracy. An overwhelming majority of our electorate unquestionably brings patriotism and virtuous intentions to the ballot.

The goodness of the people has never been a matter of doubt. Even in monarchical England the democracy is regarded as the heart (virtue) of the state, while the nobility is its head (wisdom), and the king is its hand (power). In America the people are the heart, and head and hand, and it is just as important that voters should understand the leading principles of civil government and political economy as it is that their heart should be in the right place.

When and where are the masses to acquire knowledge of the subjects upon which they vote? The hard conditions of industrialism permit but little study after school days are over. Boys, early in their teens, are taken from school and sent to the fields, the shops and the mines. The hours are long, the toil is severe and the demands of a growing body consume in recreation and rest the little leisure that is found. They reach manhood and marry, and henceforth every energy is taxed to provide food, clothing and shelter for the family. These farm laborers and miners and shopworkers and teamsters and shovelers form the majority of voters. Where shall they be prepared to bring to the ballot intelligent citizenship as well as goodness of heart?

Our school system must answer. The electorate

must be prepared for its duties in the school room. That it may be well prepared, \$200,000,000 are spent annually in the United States upon public education. Now, nothing can contribute more abundantly and surely to securing an enlightened electorate than the instruction of large numbers in the elements of political and economic science. The schools are not giving this instruction to large numbers, but they can give it if they will. In the lower grades of the high school and in the upper grammar grades there are in constant attendance more than a million of pupils who can study civics with profit. Here is the place to start the masses on the road to the polling-booths. If the practical subjects of citizenship were taken up seriously and pursued systematically in these grades, there would pour into the electorate each year several hundred thousand, in a decade several million, voters trained to think with tolerable clearness upon a number of political and economic questions. Who will say that such an infusion of intelligence into the rank and file of voters would not, in good time, purify and elevate the ballot? Who will say that the failure of the schools to give this training is not a great loss to democracy?

It will be said that the curriculum of the grammar grades—of all grades for that matter—is already overloaded. The objection is valid and must be met squarely. The time at the disposal of a teacher is perfectly inelastic, and the minds of the pupils are not capable of indefinite distention. We must dare to let children be ignorant of something. If civics is to have a place in the grammar school it must displace something already there. Let it be said, parenthetically but emphatically, that neither civics nor any other subject should be allowed to displace any of the essentials. There should be no interference with the thorough teaching of the old-fashioned three R's. These homely

branches are the tools with which the human mind has cut, cuts and will cut its way through all knowledge, and if school officers do not see to it that these tools are well sharpened, sooner or later they will have to reckon with an indignant public sentiment. The contention is that, after ample provision has been made for the essentials, the pupil should immediately be equipped with some knowledge that will help him to discharge his civic duties intelligently. The problem is one of "educational value," a problem that has vexed schoolmen from the time of Plato, and that will probably continue to vex them till the crack of doom.

It is a question that cannot be answered *ex-cathedra*, but school boards and superintendents and principals will do well to give it the most serious consideration. When making out a course of study they will do well to ask such questions as these: Is botany better for grammar school pupils than civics? Is the growth of a bean of more importance than the growth of the constitution? Just now zoology is in the ascendant; the schools are *animal* mad. Is the articulation of a lobster a more profitable subject of study for the American boy than the articulation of the several governments under which he lives? In the sixtieth report of the Massachusetts state board of education we read: "An extension of the elementary grammar school curriculum to include the elements of science, algebra, geometry, one foreign language and manual training is both wise and profitable." Why not a word for citizenship? Is geometry of more importance than political economy? Is a dribble of French or German better for these pupils than a knowledge of their political institutions?

It is sometimes recommended that civics be "correlated" with history. Teachers know what this means, but perhaps the laity does not. To "correlate" two or more subjects is to teach them all at once

and to jumble and make a mess of them all. The following report of a model lesson given to sixth grade pupils will illustrate "correlation":

"*History*: Causes of the French and Indian War; desire of France and England to secure the fur trade; difference in religion, etc. *Geography*: Valley of St. Lawrence; the Great Lakes; Ohio River; Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; Lake Champlain and Lake George; pine-ries of West and North; fisheries on coast. *Science*: Fur-bearing animals—beaver, otter, mink, bear, buffalo, raccoon; also deer and moose. *Arithmetic*: Relative size of the lakes, expressed decimally; of the states in the once disputed territory; relative value of various kinds of fur, etc."

From the cause of a war to the price of a bear skin! Of course this was a lesson neither in history, nor geography, nor science, nor arithmetic, nor any subject of knowledge. To "correlate" civics with history would be unfortunate for both subjects. If citizenship is worthy of formal attention at all, it is worthy of having a liberal block of time and effort assigned to it in its own right. If it is sensibly taught, "correlations" will attend to themselves.

Can civics be successfully taught in the upper grammar and lower high school grades? Undoubtedly it can, if the subject is not trifled with, and is approached from its concrete side. It would be a fatal mistake to begin with abstractions and definitions and dry-bones. The facts of government that lie closest to the pupil's life and experience should first be studied. A rational plan would be to begin with the government of the family and study the rights and duties of parents and children and servants. Then study the government of the school, the powers and duties of school officers, and the rights and duties of pupils and teachers. After the governments of the home and school have been learned, the pupil may be introduced to the larger governments of village, town, city, county, and learn much of suffrage, elections, representation, franchises,

charters, by-laws, ordinances. When the class has mastered the leading facts of the local government under which it lives, it may pass to the study of the state. Last, *and not first*, it may take up the national government and the federal constitution. Throughout, the work should be made interesting by being made practical. The pupil should work as in a laboratory, with charters, reports, by-laws, constitutions. He should be taught to draw up with his own hands bills, petitions, resolutions. The class should be resolved into a little commonwealth, in which votes are to be registered, officers chosen, questions of public interest discussed. Many excellent results may be accomplished through the debate. Under a wise direction of this efficient but neglected means of training, the young citizen may learn much that is good for him. In debate he may learn to keep cool under fire, to tolerate and respect the opinions of others, to express himself with candor and force, to abandon notions founded on ignorance and prejudice, to submit gracefully to defeat.

To do these things is to familiarize the pupil with government as a machine. But this is only a part of the service that civics should render. In addition, instruction should be given in those subjects which come within the scope of governmental action and which constantly present problems to be solved by the voter. The elementary principles of taxation may be learned by studying the taxes assessed and collected in the locality and state; and, passing on to the national government, the underlying facts connected with the tariff may be presented and discussed. Sound views in reference to money may be inculcated by a practical examination of its nature and functions. Intelligent and ethical notions concerning contracts may be acquired by instituting imaginary contract relations between the pupils and instructing them in the principles

connected therewith. A just appreciation of the functions of trade unions and joint-stock companies may be acquired by a study of what they accomplish in concrete instances. These and similar topics should not be avoided because they properly belong to the realm of political economy. They are problems that will confront the boys when they become voters, and for this reason are properly within the sphere of civics. No teacher with sense, of course, would try to prepare for this or that political party; to do this would utterly condemn the whole effort. The business of the teacher of civics is not to train for partisanship, but to prepare the minds of his pupils for the intelligent choice between parties.

Will this kind of work in the lower schools elevate the citizenship of the masses? It will, under one condition: it must be saturated with *morality*. A lesson in civics must be a lesson in ethics. The teacher's constant aim must be to reach the pupil's heart as well as his mind. A mere knowledge of the facts of government is not enough. Indeed, to equip a lad with a knowledge of the workings of government and of his rights as a citizen, without equipping him with a conscience that will constrain him to practice the virtues of citizenship, may be to prepare him for a more successful career as a public rogue. Good citizenship requires a happy union of heart and head, and it should be the purpose of the teacher of civics to effect this union. The pupil should be taught to feel as well as to know. He should hear quite as much about his duties and responsibilities as about his rights and privileges. He should be led to think of a right as a reward of a duty fulfilled. In the transaction of the business of the small state into which the class is organized, constant appeal should be made to the moral sense. Show the pupil that it is as wrong to cheat the class as it is to

cheat a classmate, and he will hate the wrong of cheating the class. Show him that it is as wrong to cheat the state as it is to cheat the class, and he may resolve to deal fairly with the state when he becomes a man. Show him that the bribe debauches him that gives and him that takes, and there may be awakened in his breast contempt and detestation for bribery. When his heart and conscience as well as his mind have been reached, when he has learned the majesty of the word *ought*, he may be taught that he must vote whenever it is his privilege to do so, that he must fulfill his contracts, that he must not dodge his taxes, that he must take a part in public affairs, that he must try to earn a decent living, that he must tolerate the religious beliefs of others. A teacher of civics who burns these and the other precepts of good citizenship into the hearts of his pupils, at the same time that he stamps them upon their minds, will have his reward.

Here is a weak point in our public school work. The curriculum fails to provide for an ample instruction in those matters that help the citizen to meet social and political problems intelligently and conscientiously. There is enough said about this subject, goodness knows. Citizenship and patriotism are favorite themes at all educational meetings and in all school journals. Everybody insists that the highest duty of the teacher is to train for citizenship; but when one visits the school room and watches the work as it proceeds for a day or a week, little that is worthy of being called training for citizenship is discoverable. The flag may be saluted, "America" may be sung, short patriotic quotations may be recited, but this can hardly be accepted as instruction in civics. Say what one will, in all but very few schools the time and energy of teachers and pupils are directed exclusively to things that are far removed from the subject of government; to skeletons,

beetles, hand saws, toy etnas, cube root, parsing and the other items of a curriculum that has been "enriched" to the point of impoverishment. For earnest, effective instruction in citizenship, many of the boys must wait until they have become social outcasts and have been gathered by philanthropists into social settlements and junior republics.

In some quarters this defect in the program of our schools is appreciated and effort is being made to remedy it. In a few states special laws have been passed placing civics upon the curriculum of the lower grades. From Chicago there comes very encouraging reports of experiments in pupil-government. The pupils of a school are organized into a self-governing democracy, and trained in a very practical way for citizenship. The area of effort, however, in this direction is small, and the number of pupils benefited bears a small proportion to the whole. Thousands are reached where millions ought to be reached. We are far behind France and Switzerland in preparing masses of children for the difficult and dangerous task of self-government.

In the cause of good citizenship let no one cry, Lo, it is here; lo, it is there, Eureka! The teaching of civics in the lower schools will not do everything, be it taught ever so widely and ever so well. The home, the pulpit, the civic club, the library, the honest newspaper, the truthful politician, and the other agents of light must continue to do their best, for the agents of darkness, the spoilsman, the lying editor, the bribe giver, will continue active and will undo much that the schools may do. The schools cannot do all, but they may do a great deal. Their opportunity to prepare citizens for the polling-booth is perhaps greater than that of any other agency that makes for civic progress. They have the constant supervision of several millions

of boys and girls, ranging in age from twelve to sixteen. If resolute work is done with these teachable and impressionable hosts, they may acquire, while in school, clear notions of the rights and duties of the American voter and of the principles of the American government. When one considers that the vast majority of people must either acquire these notions while in school or not acquire them at all, and reflects that our safety depends quite as much upon the knowledge as upon the goodness of our electorate, one can only regret that the efforts of teachers to train for good citizenship have been so haphazard and half-hearted.

OUR BANKING AND TREASURY SYSTEM

It is admitted by all scientific students of finance that our banking and currency and sub-treasury system is the clumsiest jumble of crude and wasteful features of any in the world. It lacks nearly all the best features necessary to a natural, scientific banking system. The sub-treasury is a wasteful miser's box, which costs many millions a year in interest and, by its deadly hoarding, tends to stimulate panics by the contraction of the circulating medium. The bond basis for circulation renders note issue by banks too expensive to be profitable, and practically destroys all elasticity in our currency. It is becoming clearer to students of public policy, and to responsible business men, that an early reform in our banking system is inevitable if we are to avoid financial cataclysm from the stiff, creaky, expensive, unadjustable character of our monetary system as it relates to the needs of expanding commerce. The death and burial of the free silver doctrine by the decisive popular vote in 1896 and 1900 cleared the way for conservative and scientific action on the banking question, and it is a hopeful sign that the consensus of opinion among the competent is making rapid progress in this direction.

There are two bills now before congress proposing to deal with this subject: one introduced by Congressman Thayer of Massachusetts, and the other by Congressman Fowler of New Jersey, chairman of the committee on banking and currency. It is highly important that the subject be carefully and fully discussed, not merely through partisan editorials, but by the ablest students of the subject, with the view of helping congress to the very best feasible action on the subject.

It is encouraging to note that discussion of the sub-

ject is opened in the March number of the *North American Review* by Hon. Joseph H. Walker, chairman of the committee on banking and currency in the 54th and 55th congresses. There are few men in this country who have given this question more time and attention than Mr. Walker, and it is to be hoped that his article will be followed by others, bringing the best scientific knowledge to bear upon the subject.

Mr. Walker, while very positive and at times dogmatic, is not at all revolutionary in his propositions for banking and currency reform. On the contrary, he takes the position that the safest and most effectual way to reform existing institutions, and particularly the banking system, is to introduce as few new and disturbing elements as possible into the fiscal machinery of the country. He recognizes that financial institutions must needs have the confidence of the people, because a large element in the efficiency of banking is credit, and credit can only be effectively utilized when business confidence is undisturbed. Any radical reconstruction of our banking system, even though it should introduce the soundest fiscal principle, might, and probably would, so disturb the public confidence as practically to defeat the beneficial effects of the change, at least for a considerable time.

The important element that needs to be introduced into our banking system is the element of natural elasticity without the impairment of security. At present our system is all security and no elasticity. The sub-treasury, which hoards the government funds, and the bond basis of national banks, furnish not merely adequate security, but such iron-bound security as to make elasticity impossible. It is very much as if a man in building a house should make the walls fifty feet thick when two feet would be ample. The sub-treasury system is, as Lincoln so aptly characterized it, "a miser's

iron box;" it is barbaric in its conception and working. Our present banking system furnishes no facility for international exchange, or for maintaining the parity of our currency. It throws all the duty of maintaining the monetary standard upon the government, which has neither part nor lot in the financial transactions involved.

Mr. Walker points out that the law of March 14th, 1900, which was the last act of congress dealing with the subject and aimed to establish a gold standard, has prepared the way for effective and non-disturbing improvements which shall bring the national banking and treasury system "into harmony with natural financial laws:"

"First, by relieving the United States treasury from the current redemption of any form of paper money—a function which is assumed by no other public treasury;

"Second, by devolving upon the banks the obligation of maintaining parity between all kinds of money—a function which is normal to banks, and is required of them by law in every other country;

"Third, by allowing banks to issue true bank currency; that is, currency against their general assets—which is one of the chief functions of banks of deposit, loan and discount, and is performed by banks in every other country;

"Fourth, by securely uniting all the commercial banks in the country, through the existing clearing-houses, into a solid union to maintain parity, by crowning them with a national clearing house, but leaving them in as independent a position as now for every other purpose."

It will be observed that Mr. Walker's plan, so far as outlined in this article, does not contemplate such a radical reform even as establishing branch banks, but proposes to unite the banks on one specific function: namely, the maintenance of parity of all forms of currency. On this point he says:

"All responsibility for maintaining parity should be transferred from the United States treasury to what should be the head of our financial and banking system: viz., a national clearing-house, which should in our system be equivalent to the official head of the banking and financial systems of France, Germany and England, and every other first-

class country. Every country in the world finds it absolutely necessary to make a head institution an integral part of its banking system, as the national clearing house should be made,—not 'a head outside of the system,' as we have attempted to make the United States treasury."

Of course this gives rise to many questions which are not, and could not be, answered in a short magazine article. The machinery, however, for carrying this idea into law is worked out in detail in the Thayer bill already referred to. The real question is, and it should be thoroughly and fearlessly discussed: Will a measure based on this plan and dovetailed into our present system really do the work?

It is not enough that we abolish the treasury system and place the government funds in the banking system; it is not enough that we abolish the cramping bond basis of bank issues; it is not enough that we maintain all currency at a parity. Any and all of these things, admirable and necessary as they are to a sound banking system, are not enough, unless the relation of the banks to each other is such that the facility for note issue by the small country banks is so adjusted as to enable the farmer and rural business man to secure accommodation at as low a rate of interest as the big concerns can obtain in the business centers. The country banks are the ones that need to issue notes; and no reform in the banking system is worth undertaking which will not make it feasible for country banks to loan their credit, and hence furnish business accommodation at a low rate of interest. To do this they must have, either through inter-organization or some other relation with the banking system, the benefit and backing of the great banking capital of the country. The only question is: Does any bill now proposed, or can a bill be drawn that will, secure these essential results, which, in a word, are elasticity and security, with uniform low rates of interest?

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN AN EDITORIAL classifying protectionists as socialists, the *New York Times* says:

"Nothing would more dismay Mr. Hanna, for instance, or Mr. Depew, or Mr. Elkins, than the suggestion that they are not only socialists, but that the tendency and effect of their ideas and practices are tremendously to strengthen the most radical form of socialism. Yet such a suggestion is fully sustained by the facts."

Suppose Messrs. Hanna, Depew and Elkins should reply, as they might with much truth, by saying:

"Nothing would more dismay the *New York Times* than the suggestion that it is not only an anarchist, but that the tendency and effect of its ideas and editorials are tremendously to strengthen the most radical form of anarchy."

Yet such a suggestion would be fully sustained by the facts.

REFERRING TO Secretary Hay's eulogy of President McKinley, the *Boston Herald* says:

"On a certain occasion Wendell Phillips said, 'Our task is history, not eulogy.' On this occasion the orator's task was eulogy, not history." "The keynote of the address," it adds, "was a tribute of a friend spoken to other friends, while the grief for their common loss is fresh, and nothing but praise is proper. . . . If the oration seemed to lack something of discriminating analysis, and some severe truthfulness of shading, it will not on that account fail of sincere praise for its beauty of expression and its ardor of admiration."

Is this a gentle hint that there is a less flattering side that will have to be given when "our task is history, not eulogy"? Does the *Herald* refer to that picturesque polling of the Ohio delegation at Minneapolis or the wholesale "conversion" of Reed delegates at St. Louis?

AMONG THE laws enacted in the Philippines by the Philippine commission, to give freedom and self-government to the Filipinos, one provides that:

"It shall be unlawful for any person to advocate, orally, or by writing, or printing, or like methods, the independence of the Philippine

islands or their separation from the United States, whether by peaceable or forcible means, or print, publish or circulate any handbill, newspaper or other publication advocating such independence or separation. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$2,000 and imprisonment not exceeding one year."

A people to govern whom it is necessary to have such straight-jacket despotism should be no part of the United States. Such despotic methods tend to stultify the very idea of democracy, and a people who cannot be governed without them ought not to be governed by this republic.

IT SEEMS TO BE conceded that in the recent debate on the Philippines, in the United States senate, the democrats had the best of the argument. This is astonishing, in view of the fact that the strong debaters of the senate are on the republican side. It is only another evidence that oratory is really strong only when it is in the right. No amount of evidence can make our practical betrayal of the confidence of the Filipinos, and the sneaking methods aided by treachery and forgery employed in the capture of Aguinaldo, other than dishonorable. As for the code enforced by the Philippine commission, making "the promulgation of any political opinion or policy" sedition, that could be justified only under absolute despotism, and wherever that is necessary the flag of this republic should not float.

THE MOVEMENT for direct nomination of candidates for public office is making rapid headway. Although the bill providing for direct nominations in New York state was promptly voted down by the senate judiciary committee at Albany, the effort is making great progress in other states. Those who would learn what is being done on this subject would do well to read a book just published by Ernst Christopher Meyer, of Wisconsin.

In over a column of editorial discussion of this book and the subject the *Boston Herald* says:

"It seems to us destined to have an enlightening value, not unlike that of the late Dorman B. Eaton's volume on civil service reform in Great Britain, published before the people in this country had much knowledge of the subject. It is not too much to say now that one could hardly vote intelligently on questions of caucus reforms without knowledge of the contents of Mr. Meyer's book."

We commend this book to the senate judiciary committee of New York state.

IF THE AGITATION against the beet sugar industry in this squabble over Cuba should prove, as it probably will, to destroy the confidence of capital in the permanence of protection to that industry, and destroy the faith of the people in the beet sugar states in the honesty of the protection pretences of the republican administration, giving a democratic majority in the next congress, the administration party may credit itself with the result. No enemy of protection ever sputtered forth more malignant tirades against American industry than has the *New York Tribune* in this agitation. This is one of the cases where the republican party is entirely and alone responsible for the rampant attack upon the protective policy. If it does not change the complexion of the next congress, it is because the people in the western states are more loyal to protection than the Elihu Roots and *New York Tribunes* and their followers in the war upon the beet sugar industry.

IT IS ENCOURAGING to note that the southern press is practically unanimous in denouncing the disgraceful conduct of Tillman in the United States senate as the doings of a blustering bully, with more of the instincts of a brute than of a gentleman, and whose resignation

is demanded. The case is admirably stated in dignified terms by the *Macon Telegraph*:

"THE GENTLEMAN OR THE BRUTE.

"We presume that other apologies will follow those made on the floor of the senate last Saturday afternoon, and that the affair between the senators from South Carolina will be smoothed over, but the people in particular of South Carolina, and in general of the South, supposed to be represented by these men, should not let the matter drop. Rowdyism is bad enough anywhere, in the slums, on the frontiers, but in the senate it is absolutely unpardonable, and reprehensible in the utmost degree. When any men, or set of men, with commissions of leadership and trust in their pockets, resort to such methods in public or private places, their immediate resignations ought to be called for. We are not living in the dark ages, nor the middle ages of the world, but in the fierce, bright light of the twentieth century, where the gentleman towers above the swashbuckler and bully like a mountain peak above a dunghill—where sobriety, manly bearing and the ways of peace and love mark the man, and braggadocio the brute! This is the truth, and the people should discipline according to it."

THE 17TH of March was a recorder breaker at Ellis Island. Five transatlantic steamers came into the port of New York overburdened with steerage passengers. All told the five vessels contributed 6,876 persons to our foreign-born population. These imported citizens were shipped from Bremen, Antwerp, Hamburg and Havre, but the real nativity of the motley crew was not reported. There seems to be a hopeful sign about the distribution of these immigrants, in the fact that they did not purpose to work out their dubious destiny in New York city. Most of them went to Jersey City and took trains for various points in the West. That does not necessarily prove, however, that they all went to the agricultural sections of the country, there to help solve the pressing problem involved in a scarcity of farm labor. They may have pitched their tents in the growing cities of the West, to make an allied addition to the congested centers of population there, for the records show that during recent years the states of the

union containing large cities have received the vast majority of the immigrants of this country. The record of St. Patrick's day shows pretty conclusively that the immigration question still deserves more serious and sensible treatment than it receives from our national legislators.

THE FACT that the statistics given by *Dun's Review* show that the prices of manufactured products have been lowered, while the prices of raw materials and food stuffs have risen, leads the *New York Times* to exclaim:

"It would be difficult to find a stronger or more unanswerable argument than these facts furnish for the indictment of our tariff system as a 'conspiracy in restraint of trade.' Protective duties levied on manufactured products no longer protect them, for the reason that the progress of industrial development has been so rapid and general that prices have steadily declined through domestic competition."

The peculiarity of this situation is that the facts stated by *Dun's Review* are exactly what intelligent protectionists always insisted would occur, and have been as stoutly denied by the group of doctrinaires to which the *Times* belongs. It is a part of the doctrine of economic protection that, by protecting the opportunities for domestic capital to have the full benefits of our market, the best methods are developed, and ultimately greater economies and lower prices are secured. This is just what the *Dun's Review* figures show has occurred. In the great industries which have been protected, and where large corporations have developed, prices have fallen in spite of the general tendency of advancing wages and increased cost of raw materials. This is what we may expect in domestic sugar production if it is not killed off by hounding free trade agitators.

THE SANDUSKY (O.) *Register*, reviewing the article on "The Convention and the Caucus," in GUNTON'S

MAGAZINE for January, admits the unsatisfactory condition which characterizes caucuses in most parts of the country, but does not see that legislation is necessary to protect primaries from the boodlers and the bosses inside the party. The *Register* declares that "Every citizen can attend the caucus in his own precinct if he will, and take part, and if all citizens belonging to a party were to attend the caucus the boss and the boodler would soon be voted out of existence."

As a matter of fact, under the present machine methods, high-minded citizens cannot win in the caucus unless they stoop to the practices of the boodlers and the bosses, and then they would cease to be high-minded. It is this situation which renders necessary a primary law permitting independent nominations, providing freedom of initiative, and surrounding the primary with all of the security and decency of environment that characterize elections. When ballot reform was first agitated it was declared that men could go to the polls and cast a free, honest ballot if they wanted to. Still, the manner of conducting elections made honest, unintimidated voting hard and sometimes dangerous. The results following improved election laws, which guard the voter and protect the ballot from the manipulation of the evil disposed, prove that these statutes were wise and righteous. Conditions demand that equal safeguards should surround the party caucuses, which, as the initial steps in politics, are really more important than the elections, which in so many cases only ratify what was done in the primaries.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

QUESTION BOX

Cuban "Starvation," and Balance of Trade

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the *Syracuse Herald* for March 12th, there is an editorial criticising the article entitled "Is Cuba Starving?" in your March number. The editor of the *Herald* thinks that the testimony given by various Cuban planters, tending to show that the reports of distress in the island are exaggerated, are not to be relied upon because no facts or figures are given. Is it not true, however, that these very men were testifying before the house committee on ways and means in favor of tariff reduction, and were supposed to be showing how badly Cuba needs it; so that these admissions by them are even more eloquent testimony than tables of figures, coming from those whose whole interest and purpose was to prove the contrary conditions.

In the same editorial the fact that Cuba had a balance of trade in her favor last year was rejected on the ground that a favorable balance of trade is no evidence of prosperity. The *Herald* says:

"In our country the year 1894 was one of the blackest, in the business and industrial sense, in its history. It was the worst of the hard times; industry was paralyzed and workmen were seeking employment on all sides. Yet in that year the favorable balance of trade, as it is called—that is, the excess in value of exports over imports—reached the enormous and unprecedented figure of \$237,000,000. In the flush year of 1891 the favorable balance was only \$40,000,000. That tells the whole story. . . . Before the brilliant logician of GUNTON'S is dismissed, let us point out that the most prosperous country in the world next to the United States (we mean, of course, in time of peace) is

England; and the balance of trade against England is always heavy, the excess of imports over exports sometimes reaching fifty per cent."

Will you not kindly state the actual economic effect of a favorable trade balance upon national prosperity, and say if the *Herald's* views on this matter are based on sound economic principles? R. B.

As to the statement that Cuba is starving, the facts are too obvious to need extensive statement. There is never any starvation in a country when labor is all employed and wages are rising, which is now the case in Cuba. This fact was presented before the ways and means committee, as our correspondent observes, by those who were interested in the starvation plea. It is also verified by the fact that they have been importing laborers from Spain and the Canaries during the present year.

On the matter of the balance of trade, the *Syracuse Herald* talks like one who has committed his piece and is saying it in the wrong connection. One would suppose from its remarks that to be truly prosperous a nation must have an adverse balance of trade. Yet there are no statesmen in the world, not even in free trade England, who are imbecile enough to act on that. They all try to secure a favorable balance. Of course a country's prosperity is not measured by its favorable or unfavorable balance of foreign trade, nor by its foreign trade at all, but by its aggregate volume of business, domestic and foreign; the domestic being worth much more dollar for dollar than the foreign. In the last analysis the welfare of a nation is not measured by what it sells to others so much as by what it consumes itself. But, the volume of trade being given, there is an advantage in a favorable balance of trade, but even this may be modified by the kind of commodities which are exported as compared with those imported. A nation that exports manufactured products and imports raw

materials will get a greater benefit, economically and socially, from the trade than the nation which exports raw material and imports manufactures, not from the profits involved, but from the influence of the industry upon the industrial and social development of its own people.

But the *Syracuse Herald* reaches the climax of absurdity in its reference to England, which it intimates is the most prosperous country next to the United States, and always has a balance of trade against her, sometimes of 50 per cent. If England buys twice as much as she sells, how does she pay the other half? Can the *Syracuse Herald* tell us how a man or a nation can buy twice as much as it sells without drawing upon some reserve fund or principal with which to pay? The absurdity is too obvious to labor with. The simple fact is that England does not have an actual adverse balance of trade. If she did, she would always be depleting her gold reserve, but for more than a generation gold has been flowing towards England. She has had gold to lend, and has been the chief lending nation. Where does she get it? Why, she gets it from her favorable balance of trade. She digs no gold. There is no way she can get it except through trade exchanges. It is true that her imports often exceed her exports, and the *Syracuse Herald* thinks that is all there is to it. But there is another fact which it needs introducing to: namely, the immense English investments in foreign industries. Millions every year go to England as profits from foreign investments. If all this were transmitted in gold it would drain the world's cash. Instead of that, it goes very largely in products and makes up for what seems to the *Syracuse Herald* to be an adverse balance of trade, which in reality is a favorable balance. Even the *Syracuse Herald* must be able to see that in the last analysis nobody is likely very long to be able to get

twice as much as he gives, and if a nation imports very much more than it exports it makes up for the difference in gold, and the one reason England did not have to pay that difference in gold is that she had it coming to her through the earnings of English capital in the different foreign countries. But for that, she would have been compelled to pay for her balance in gold, and been a borrowing instead of a lending nation.

Uniform Hours of Labor

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice every little while you come out for national legislation on the subject of hours of labor. Why take the line of greatest resistance? All the progress in this direction thus far has come by states, and it is so much easier to work the case up state by state until the whole country gets it that it would seem foolish waste of effort to work for a constitutional amendment, and all that, to force this kind of regulation on states that are not yet ready for it and would use every effort to evade it. Why not concentrate effort on a state at a time until the desired result is accomplished by the action of the people themselves in each section.

R. H.

It is not national legislation so much as uniformity of the hours of labor we urge. When the hours of labor in competing industries are different in different states, those working the longest hours, other things being equal, have an advantage, which really gives a premium to the resistance of progress. This is the case to-day between the southern and northern cotton manufacturers. Public sentiment and legislation has compelled employers in the northern states to restrict the hours of labor to a maximum of 60 per week, and in some states to 54. In the South the corporations can work women and children without limit. This puts the northern employers to a competitive disadvantage

and tends to array them against beneficent industrial policy, whereas, if the policy were uniform throughout the nation, none would get a seeming advantage over others, and that element of antagonism to progressive policy would disappear.

Moreover, it is in the nature of things that under popular government, with local, state and national authority, institutions should pass to the jurisdiction of the greater whenever they transcend the boundaries of the smaller body. State sovereignty is well enough within the state boundaries; but questions that are interstate in their interest should and ultimately must pass to national jurisdiction. This has already taken place on questions of banking, interstate commerce and bankruptcy, and there are several other questions which should pass from the state to national jurisdiction, among which is the hours of labor in competitive industries that extend throughout the country. For the same reason that there should be uniformity of laws on bankruptcy and banking and transportation, there should be uniformity in the hours of labor in the great competing industries of the country. If this uniformity cannot be secured by voluntary arrangement or by state legislation, then it ought to and some day must be secured by national legislation.

Foreign Price of American Steel Rails

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Is it not a fact that the United States Steel Corporation has been selling rails in England and the Orient at eleven dollars per ton less than its American price, presumably at a profit? Is it because of the Dingley tariff that they are enabled to do this, and that the American people pay eleven dollars more than they ought to pay? Would not the removal of the tariff on this particular industry remedy the evil? If not, what

remedy would be effective to prevent this discrimination?
T. J. C.

Our correspondent's first question suggests the conundrum that is said to have been propounded by Charles II. to a coterie of his advisers: namely, "Why does a pail of water weigh less with a fish in it than without?" They all puzzled their brains to answer why, when one of them stumbled on the happy thought to ask, "Does it?" When tested by the scales, of course it was found that it did not.

Before we proceed to devise a means to prevent the United States Steel Corporation from selling steel rails in England \$11 less per ton than in the American market, we would better ask the question, "Does it?" This statement has been bandied around but has never been verified. It is probably not true, and for the best of all reasons, that it is not at all necessary. The United States Steel Corporation has more orders for steel rails than it can fill. Its management, therefore, would have to be greatly lacking in business sense to sell rails in Europe at \$17 a ton, when it can get \$28 in the United States for all it can make. Moreover, the regular prevailing English price is not more than \$2 a ton less than the American, hence to sell at \$11 less would be idiocy.

In his testimony last summer before the industrial commission, Mr. Byron W. Holt, secretary of the New York Reform Club, said something of this kind, but instead of giving the facts to prove it, he evaded the responsibility by saying he was not at liberty to reveal the source of his information. Before we ask the administration to legislate against a certain practice, we are bound to prove that the practice complained of actually exists. In this case it probably does not.

Immigrants and Rough Labor

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—On this matter of re-enacting the Chinese exclusion law, it seems to me as if an important point was being overlooked. Is it not true that the crude immigrant laborers, like the Italians and Chinese, are actually needed to do the rough work that American laborers will not perform? In other words, is it not a fact that the immense railroad system of the country, for instance, could not have reached anywhere near its present development without the cheap labor that has been available for the rough construction work?

P. H. S.

Oh no. It was not the cheap labor that was necessary to build our railroad system. It was simply the labor, and there may have been a time and probably was when immigration of manual labor was really needed in this country. But it does not follow that because 50 years ago we needed foreign immigrants we need them now. There is no iron law about this. The simple fact is, the point has been reached where an unlimited influx of any form of very cheap labor from any part of the world is now an injury to the social and economic condition of labor in this country. The Chinese are especially so, for the reason that they are not susceptible to the economic and social influences of American civilization, besides being a menace as cheap labor. They furnish an unassimilable squalor element in our municipal problems; and this is the more menacing from the fact that they are permanently segregated from our social institutions.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CABINET GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND. By Mary Taylor Blauvelt, M.A. Cloth, 300 pp. \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1902.

England is the mother of parliamentary institutions and representative government, yet there are few governments of which the public knows less than that of England; that is, the particular functions of the different phases of government. This is especially true of the cabinet and the so-called constitution. Not that there is any lack of historic literature on the subject, for the history of England has been the constant subject of research and writings for centuries. The meager knowledge of the specific features of parliamentary government in England is probably due to the fact that in England alone is the political constitution a growth and not a concrete instrument. In every other country where parliamentary institutions exist, the powers of the government are based upon a written constitution; consequently the rules and regulations, principles and limitations are specific, and they are expanded or modified only by the enactment of specific formal amendments. For this reason the date of the origin and every new feature in the constitutions are accurately known and can be definitely told in the school books.

To all this England is an exception. The constitution of which we hear so much is not a written concrete thing at all. It is simply a recognition of established customs and specific enactments. In other words, it is the accumulative experiences of centuries, which have acquired authority by habit, custom and usage. The great charter of Henry I., the institutes of Clarendon formulated in the reign of Henry II.,

the magna charta of John, the great charter of Henry III., the bill of rights and act of settlement of William III., come the nearest being efforts at constitution making, but these were rather declarations of general principles, and, with the exception of the bill of rights, served only as milestones in the growth of popular rights. Even the powers of parliament itself are not vouchsafed by written instruments, but were established by the force of popular opinion and the assertion of authority over the crown and the government, increased little by little as emergencies arose, the accomplishments in one period being recognized as a kind of ratchet wheel to prevent the political machinery from slipping backwards. Thus, what had once been asserted and acquiesced in, especially if acted upon for any considerable time, became a popular right which the king himself was not permitted to ignore or overthrow.

A peculiar and, indeed, the central feature of parliamentary government in England is the cabinet, which to-day is composed of holders of specific offices to the crown. It is the result of an almost imperceptible evolution, which has come by insensible gradations. There is no particular time when it can be said to have literally begun, and, what is more peculiar still, it has to-day no recognized legal existence. That is to say, it is not known as such in the formal statutory enactments of the realm. It is an outgrowth of the privy council to the king, which in the middle ages simply consisted of the consulting barons, whose advice, and more frequently whose aid, the king needed in waging war in defence of his dominions or in plundering his neighbors. This council of barons, some of whom were once as strong, in some instances stronger than, the king, came to be known as the privy council, and as such it still exists. This privy council consequently has been

the body through which most of the modifications toward representative institutions have taken place, or which took place down to the revolution of William and Mary, in 1688.

It is the story of the growth or slow evolution of this cabinet function out of the privy council that is told in this work; and it is told in a most interesting and attractive manner. The thread of interests and the action and reaction is continuously traced. Like all progressive movements, it vibrated, now stronger and now weaker, but with every real gain in the strength of popular demand for recognition the power of the council over the king increased. For a long time after parliament came into existence the council, the inner council and the cabinet constituted a sort of group of king's favorites, not an aid to parliament and the people's representatives. To convert the cabinet into a committee of the parliament, a sort of democratic executive, was a comparatively late stage in the development of popular government. The famous "star chamber" of the Tudors and Stuarts was a selected portion of this privy council.

It is a most interesting and instructive study to follow the growth of this council and the development of the cabinet, and especially its change from a committee of the king's favorites, whose sole function was to carry out his personal will, and, so far as possible, thwart any counter sentiment or demands of the people, to a cabinet of the people's parliament, whose authority is practically above that of the king—a body, in fact, which the king cannot now even select except in accordance with the expressed will of the people. To be sure, Edward VII. still retains the nominal right of selecting the cabinet through the appointment of a prime minister, but his power to do so is entirely limited by the agreement of the prime minister with the political

complexion of parliament. In short, he is compelled to select his prime minister and cabinet from the dominant political party in parliament, and the minister and cabinet so constructed will carry out the policy of the parliament and not the policy of the king, except to the extent that the two policies are alike.

Besides giving a consecutive historic account of the development of cabinet government in England, this book throws a great many helpful side-lights on the political struggles and popular movements out of which the present elastic constitution of England has come. The book is a real contribution to the literature of an important, though a comparatively little-known, phase of English parliamentary government.

WILLIAM HAMILTON GIBSON; ARTIST—NATURALIST—AUTHOR. By John Coleman Adams. Cloth, illustrated, 275 pages. \$2.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

In the veins of William Hamilton Gibson ran some of the best blood of New England, and he delighted to speak of himself as a "way-back Puritan." He was lucky in being well-born and he was correspondingly well-bred, the latter term applying not only to his home training, but to his after education.

Like many another boy in our country's history who developed manliness and became useful, young Gibson enjoyed the luxury of being moulded by a master hand during his boyhood in the person of a wise teacher. In this case it was a man who did the moulding, but often it is a consecrated woman as teacher and friend who comes into the life of the pupil and inspires him with high ideals.

At Washington, Connecticut, Frederick W. Gunn taught the Gunn School, called the "Gunnery" for short, and here Gibson, at the age of ten, was matricu-

lated. The principal of this school had a genius for inspiring boys, and he had good material on which to work in the case of young Gibson. The way the influence of this school and town impressed the lad is shown by the fact that when fame and a competence came to him he there built his home, and there he lived when death took him.

At the age of 18 Gibson's father died, and he hastened to put himself in the way of being self-supporting. He took up life insurance as a temporary source of revenue. Always in love with nature, and having an artistic gift, he began drawing from the block, and quickly developed into a success. He was a prodigious toiler, and turned out acceptable work with almost marvelous rapidity. From drawing from the block he went to sketching from nature, and furnished illustrations for some of the best books of the day.

He must have worked with both eyes open, and by night as well as by day, for while he made sketches he was studying nature first-hand and with painstaking minuteness. Plant and animal life became wonderfully familiar to him. His close acquaintance with nature led him from art to authorship, and he turned out books containing some of the most delightful nature stories which have appeared in the field of American literature. As an artist and author Mr. Gibson was most progressive. When the half-tone cut threatened to supersede the sketch and the engraving for ordinary illustration he did not bewail the change, but made use of the camera with the same skill and originality that had characterized his use of the brush and the pencil.

Mr. Gibson died in 1896, and as years go he was a young man, having been born in 1850. Measured, however, by the quantity and quality of work he did, he probably put into life nearly the allotted span of earthly existence.

Mr. Adams has given us a book telling the life story of a real man, and telling it in a most interesting way. The personal correspondence was selected with discrimination and adds to the interest of the book, which really leaves a good taste in the reader's mouth on every page.

THE CARE OF DESTITUTE, NEGLECTED AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN. By Homer Folks. Cloth, 251 pages. Price \$1.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This little book contains much history regarding the growth of the philanthropy which deals with dependent children, and not a few hints are given regarding the proper treatment of this class of juveniles.

The nineteenth century showed a marked increase in the humane spirit regarding unfortunate little folks, as well as in the treatment of defectives of all sorts and classes. The story of the bound boy, his trials and hardships and the brutalities he suffered, can be told now only as past history. Perfection has by no means been reached in dealing with children who become charges of the state and the community, but progress in that line is being made.

Excessive institutionalism is a danger now being quite generally recognized, and some of the best directed efforts of our time have to do with the sensible effort to bring the homeless child and the childless home together, in order that both may be benefitted and enjoy a normal and healthy development.

The book before us deals with all of the plans which are in use for looking after dependent children, and is full of information, and not a little inspiration, for those who are concerned for the unfortunate little people in our American communities.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

The American Federal State. A Text-Book in Civics for High Schools and Academies. By Roscoe Lewis Ashley, A.M. Cloth, gilt top, 599 pp. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Principles of Western Civilization. By Benjamin Kidd. Cloth, 481 pp. \$2.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

A History of Political Theories : Ancient and Medieval. By William Archibald Dunning, Ph.D. Cloth, 325 pp. \$2.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Regent's Edition of Irving's Sketch-Book. By Claude Towne Benjamin, A.B. Cloth, 12mo, 192 pp. 50 cents. American Book Company, New York.

Outlines of Botany. By Robert Greenleaf Leavitt, A.M. Cloth, 8vo, 272 pp. \$1.00. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

The War in South Africa ; Its Cause and Conduct. By A. Conan Doyle. Paper, 139 pp. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

Captain Jinks, Hero. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth, 12mo, 393 pp. \$1.50. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children. By Homer Folks. Cloth, 251 pp. \$1.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Development of Cabinet Government in England. By Mary Taylor Blauvelt, M.A. Cloth, 300 pp. \$1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Private Life of the Sultan. By Georges Dorys, son of a former high functionary in the Sultan's suite. Translated by Arthur Hornblow. Cloth, 12mo. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Illustrated.

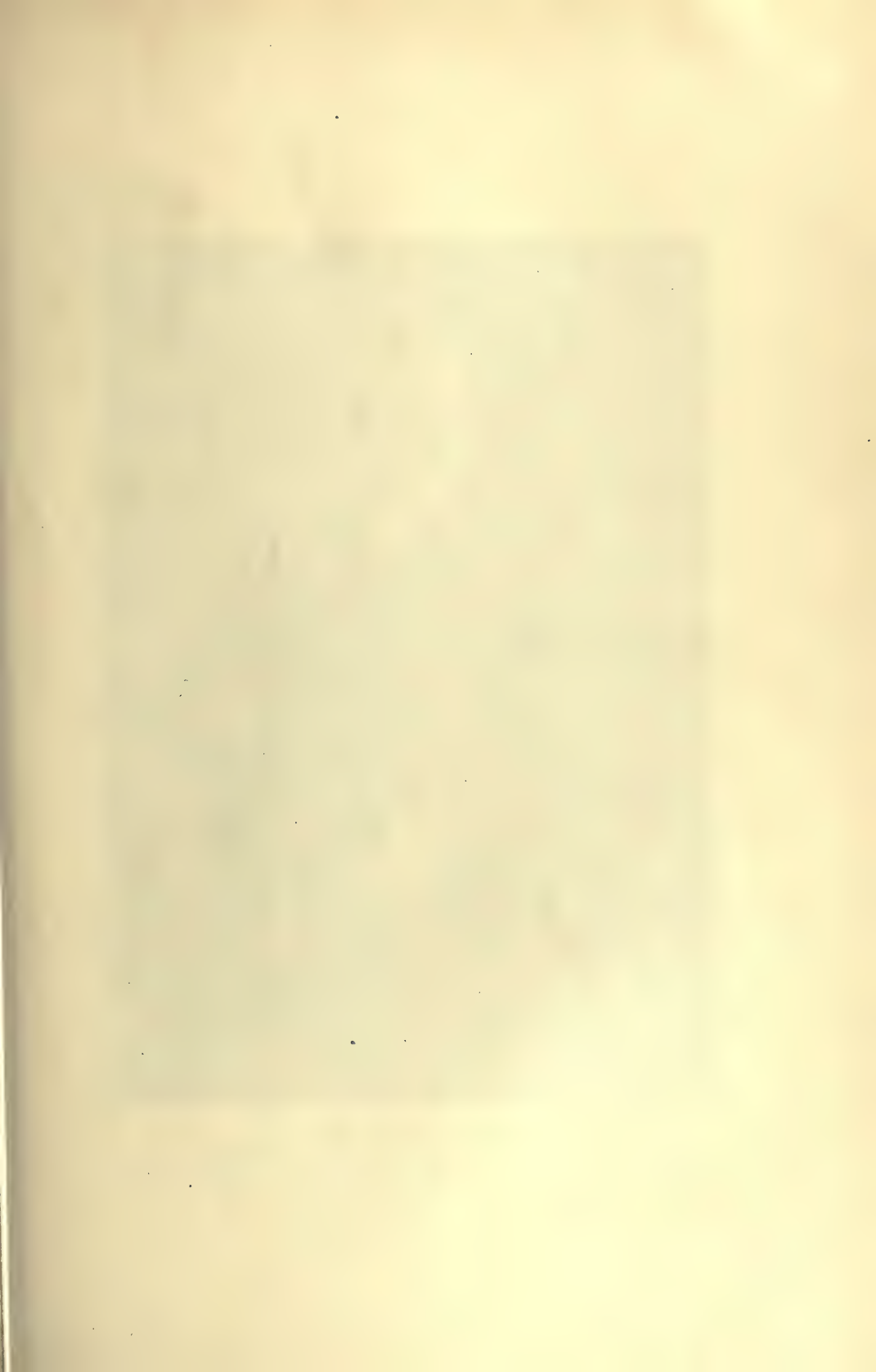
Lincoln in Story. The Life of the Martyr President told in authenticated anecdotes. Edited by Silas G. Pratt. Cloth, 12mo. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Illustrated.

FROM MARCH MAGAZINES

“With the facilities offered by the modern system of ocean transportation, the Chinese could, in an incredibly short time, if the traffic paid, pour in upon our land a turbid flood that would submerge a great portion of our laboring class. We should have ultimately, then, a hybrid type of civilization, half European, half Asiatic, with a large proportion of the white population unemployed, and most of the remainder degraded to the level of the groaning millions of Asia—the type of society in which progress to a better state would be an impossibility. . . . Any one who reads President Hadley’s book on ‘The Education of the American Citizen,’ and learns from it what qualities must now be cultivated in order to maintain more than the mere form of free institutions, will realize that the Chinaman can have no place in our social system. The highest forms of government require the highest races of people. To adapt the Chinaman to our institutions we should be obliged to begin by eradicating his religion, superstitions, traditions, ideals and customs—all of which have been so welded to his mind after four thousand years of inheritance as to have become a part of himself.”—TRUXTON BEALE, in “Why the Chinese Should be Excluded,” *The Forum*.

“Illustrations of our successful competition (with Great Britain) might be multiplied into a tiresome catalogue. We have secured practical control of the match-making industry; our tobacco manufacturers have become the dominating influence in the English trade situation; half the newspapers of England are printed on American presses or upon presses built on American models in English shops that are branches of the home manufactories. Many of those newspapers

are printed on American paper. One of the serious obstacles hampering English industries is illustrated in the paper trade. The freight from the New England paper mills to the London docks is less than from the Cardiff mills to the metropolis, and one-half the freight charge on an American shipment is made up of terminal charges incurred in the last twelve miles of the 3,000-mile journey. Probably half of the electric-cars in the United Kingdom are driven by American-made motors. When the English postal authorities entered the telephone field, no English firm could supply the number of instruments wanted, and the contract went to a Chicago company. England is the home of cheap woollens, but our manufacturers of ready-made clothing are developing an important trade there, compensating for the higher cost of their cloth and the larger wages of their workmen by their advantages in specialized labor and superior methods and machines. Our car-builders, who have so specialized the building of freight-cars that the rough timber goes in at one end of the workshop and, almost under the eye of the spectator, comes out at the other end a finished car, found an easy market in competition with old-fashioned methods and hand labor. It is only within a few months that there have been in any English shop machines for boring square holes such as enable our car-manufacturers rapidly to mortise timbers in car construction. The work that is done in an instant with a whirl of flying chips was laboriously bored and chiseled out by hand by the English workers. The same advantage in labor-saving wood-working machines enables us to send finished wood-work, sash and doors, for buildings at prices which cannot be equalled in the English shops."—FRANK A. VANDERLIP, in "The American 'Commercial Invasion' of Europe," *Scribner's*.





THE LATE REV. CHARLES H. EATON, D.D.

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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Work of Cecil Rhodes

Long before his death, at Cape Town on March 26th, Cecil Rhodes had the satisfaction of seeing the larger part of his dreams of empire in South Africa fulfilled. Considering the vastness of the plans and the shortness of the time nature allowed him in which to perfect them, his career must be regarded as extraordinary, even in an age when immense individual achievements are becoming almost commonplace. Mr. Rhodes was in his 49th year at the time of his death, and the period of his labors in South Africa was only about 30 years. Going to the cape in search of health, he engaged first in diamond mining and in a few years acquired a fortune, which became the basis of all his subsequent industrial and political operations. Having secured control of the great De Beers mining company, he extended its operations until it came to include by far the larger part of the valuable mining properties in South Africa, and made it an important contributory instrument in his later work of extending British authority northward into central Africa. In furtherance of this scheme he brought about the organization of the British South Africa Company, which in 1889 obtained its royal charter authorizing the opening up and development of central Africa from Cape Colony as far north as Lake Tanganyika, and

it was largely through Mr. Rhodes' negotiations and influence with the natives, and his far-seeing plans of development, that this immense territory has gradually come to be in fact, and not merely on paper, a part of the British Empire.

Cecil Rhodes was premier of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, but from the time of the famous Jameson raid, in January of the latter year, admittedly undertaken with his knowledge if not actually under his direction, he had been in political retirement. In this unfortunate affair, as well as various others, industrial as well as political, his methods were frequently the object of lavish and bitter criticism, a part of which undoubtedly had good foundation, although he was neither a military conqueror like Clive nor an extortionate political administrator like Warren Hastings, with both of whom he has been compared. Rhodes worked out his plans for British predominance more largely through economic than military or even political channels. The Jameson raid itself came as a sort of last resort, following in the wake of a long-continued process of industrial development and investment, which might have proceeded indefinitely on the same lines to the mutual advantage of all races in South Africa, but for the stubborn and arbitrary attitude of the Transvaal government in harassing nearly every step of industrial progress within its borders. For many years the Boers had absolutely refused any practical measures of political representation or educational opportunities for the English residents, who were contributing practically all there was of wealth development within the Transvaal and paying the bulk of the taxes to run the Boer government. Not even George the Third was more stubborn and intolerant in his attitude towards the American colonies in 1776 than President Kruger and his associates in their whole policy towards the English settlers

in the Transvaal. There are cases where revolution becomes the only feasible method of securing justice, and if the uprising of 1896 had originated wholly among the "uitlanders" in the Transvaal, instead of coming from the outside through an ill-advised and ill-planned expedition, which was bound to have grave international consequences whether successful or not, the protest might have been heeded and reforms instituted; instead of which, the result was only to increase the tension of the whole situation, until finally only war could cut the knot.

Complicity in this Jameson affair not only wiped out a large part of Cecil Rhodes' influence and popularity, but by implication cast a stigma on British policy towards the Boers which has continued to the present moment and forms a distinct part of the background of whatever anti-British feeling there is, on both sides of the Atlantic, with reference to the South African war. Had Rhodes survived, this feeling would probably have worn itself out, in the light of his great services in the once "dark continent," sufficiently at least to bring him forward again, perhaps as the controlling figure in the harmonizing of races and wide extension of industrial development which must come about in South Africa in the next two or three decades. As it is, he is cut off at the threshold of his return to public favor; but, as already intimated, the major part of the work he had laid out as peculiarly his own is already accomplished.

**His Dreams
of Empire**

The will of this remarkable man reveals his imperialist ideals as a veritable passion, expanded to include not merely British expansion but an eventual world-wide Anglo-Saxon federation. His ideas here were cast on such wide-sweeping lines that in some of the comment on

his career it has been declared that the man must have become mentally unbalanced through the immensity of his dreams,—fairly crazed, in fact, with the notion of one united Anglo-Saxon empire, controlling and ultimately ruling the whole earth. There was nothing, however, in the methods of Cecil Rhodes while working out his plans in South Africa to suggest the impractical visionary, and if some of his views now being published on the larger matters of race federation seem extravagant it is only fair to assume that he may have regarded them as in the line of ultimate tendency rather than of practical possibility anywhere within the near future. The world has been astonished too many times by the marvelous and unexpected, to warrant setting aside as a lunatic any man who prophesies vast things for the future, so long as they are within the limits of reasonable possibility, as suggested by past and present tendencies. There have been too many so-called "lunatics," who in later years have been chronicled in history as prophets and master minds, to justify any over-wise classification of Cecil Rhodes as insane, simply because at the present moment his dreams for the future, if realized at all, may appear to be centuries instead of decades short of fulfilment.

It may be that no formal unification of the Anglo-Saxon race will ever come about, but it is not at all outside the bounds of reason to predict an era of co-operation between all the more advanced nations of the earth, chiefly Teutonic, for the promotion of enlightened civilization through the arts of peace and the moral influences associated with them, with a net result so much finer and better than anything contemplated even in Cecil Rhodes' expansive pre-vision that his anticipations will seem crudely materialistic indeed, by comparison.

Significance of
the Oxford
Scholarships

At any rate, however closely associated his name may have been with the idea of expansion by force, in his will he recognized the profound fact that progress in the future must come through educational and social forces, co-operating with the industrial, rather than by the old-fashioned plan of militarism and conquest. He has provided scholarships at Oxford University for practically all parts of the English-speaking world, and in addition five for German students. These scholarships are to be worth \$1,500 a year, and good for three years each. Two such scholarships are provided for each state and territory in the United States, and in connection with this bequest Mr. Rhodes said:

"A good understanding between England, Germany and the United States will secure the peace of the world, and educational relations form the strongest tie. . . . I desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from a union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world, and to encourage in the students from the United States who will benefit by these scholarships an attachment to the country from which they have sprung, but without, I hope, withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth."

This latter expression is full of significance. It suggests a phase of the whole matter which calls for much more extended and specific discussion than has yet been given it in any quarter. No doubt, in the first flush of public interest in the novel provisions of this will, exaggerated importance is being attached to the possible influence of the Oxford scholarship arrangement. The United States is already sending abroad a considerable number of students every year, and the Rhodes bequest will simply increase the annual exodus; nevertheless, the education of a group of American students at Oxford, with the express idea of fostering Anglo-Saxon unity, will have a special significance not attaching to isolated cases of young Americans study-

ing for various individual purposes in foreign universities. For this very reason, it is in order for somebody to provide scholarships in some American university for young Englishmen. Judging from present experience, in the industrial world at least, Great Britain has quite as much to learn from America as we have to gain from larger familiarity with English ideas and methods; while, so far as the promotion of Anglo-Saxon unity through educational channels is concerned, it is of first importance, not only to the United States but to civilization, that the basis of any such closer union should include fully as large an intermixture of American ideas and principles as of English.

Bring English
Students
Here, Too

Sincere appreciation of England's immense services to civilization, and of the natural bonds of friendship which ought to exist between the United States and the mother country, is possible and desirable, but there is no pressing need of any artificial stimulation of the manufacture of anglomaniacs, of whom the supply is already largely in excess of the demand. Perhaps there is no real danger of any such tendency in connection with the Rhodes scholarships, but in so far as their establishment is taken to imply that the center of educational opportunities and progress is in England, and that young Americans must needs go abroad to get a really complete education, an emphatic protest ought to be registered. American scholarships for English students would be the fitting complement to Mr. Rhodes' great gift, and would be all the more useful in correcting false impressions or influences that might result from any tacit recognition of England as the one and natural educational center of the English speaking races.

The avowed object of the Oxford plan is to pro-

mote international acquaintance, and familiarity with the institutions of the mother country and atmosphere of English life. While this is sufficiently laudable in itself, not even sincere appreciation Mr. Rhodes' motive ought for a moment to obscure the fact that, in certain of the most vital governmental, social and industrial problems of the enlightened democratic civilization of the future, towards which progress is tending, the United States has experimented farther and has more to teach to the young men of other lands than any other nation, however old or however great its contribution to past progress. It is not "jingoism" to say this, but simply statement of fact. It is a part of ordinary patriotism to understand and appreciate in positive terms the priceless value of the institutions and ideals here set in motion, the development of which, however imperfect as yet, is furnishing inspiration and hope to many struggling peoples, and object lessons for study and practical imitation throughout Christendom—yes, even in England.

The idea at the root of the Rhodes bequest is wholesome and in the direction of progress on the broadest lines, but it is primarily essential that young Americans first acquire a sound, clear and comprehensive understanding of the fundamental principles and genius of American institutions, grow into intelligent sympathy with them, and realize what this American experiment may and must mean to the world. This much firmly established, the foundation is safely laid for branching out through educational and other proper means towards the more remote ideal of racial unity, but not before. From this point of view, in addition to the desirability of American scholarships for English students, the suggestion made by President J. G. Schurman ought to bear fruit, that some arrangement be made so that older men can be sent abroad on these

scholarships than seems to have been contemplated in the present plan. Those who go ought to be men, who have had time and experience enough to ground themselves firmly on the basis of distinctively American ideas and principles; not mere boys, with whom the glamour of ancient traditions and monarchial institutions might easily usurp the place in heart and mind that ought to be filled first of all with the best sentiment of genuine Americanism.

Steps Toward
International
Peace

"Civilized warfare" seems like a contradiction in terms, but it is really only a rather free use of language to indicate a relative rather than an absolute condition. For that matter, civilization itself is a relative rather than an absolute term. When China, for instance, is spoken of as having the oldest "civilization" in the world, while the actual conditions are as far removed from European and American civilization as the whole gulf between virtual barbarism and the highest levels of progress yet reached, there would seem to be some warrant for speaking of modern warfare as civilized, in the relative sense, by comparison with the barbarous atrocities of ancient and medieval times.

Of course, the ideal civilizing of warfare will be the doing away with it altogether, and, however far off that may be, every step towards it, great or small, should be welcomed with enthusiasm. From this point of view there is no just ground for captious criticism or sneering minimizing of the work of the Hague arbitration conference of 1899, even though it is true that no binding guarantee against future wars was provided. Manifestly, the conference could not do that, and probably no such convention ever can do it. The abolition of war will have to come through the natural welding together of the commercial and industrial

interests of the nations and the growth of an enlightened moral sense throughout the world. This being true, the only really effective steps towards universal peace are those which stimulate and develop these very tendencies, giving them the force of unwritten moral law, which is often more powerful than any formal compacts. And this is precisely what the Hague conference did. It was a powerful stimulant to the idea of international peace and helped raise the standard of international conduct towards the point where no nation will care to face the condemnation of the civilized world by undertaking a war without some moral justification or national necessity.

Not only this, but through this conference the nations emphasized their recognition of the dreadful horrors of warfare as the crowning anomaly of Christendom by taking practical steps towards mitigating its worst features. Although it was sought to provide the means of peaceably settling as many disputes as possible, the inevitableness of war for an indefinite period to come was frankly conceded and no illusions indulged in on that score. But, while little could be done to hasten the course of evolution in this respect, it was possible to do something definite and practical right now towards introducing as much as possible of humanity in whatever remains to be endured of this hideous curse.

**Modifying the
Horrors of War**

One occasion for gratification in this direction was the step taken by the recent Pan-American conference towards arbitration between the American republics. Another has since arisen in the form of final ratification by the United States senate, in March, of the international agreement adopted by the Hague conference in regard to methods of warfare. This agreement, among other things, prohibits:

The use of poison or of poisoned arms.

The killing or wounding treacherously of individuals belonging to a hostile army or nation.

Killing or wounding an enemy who, having laid down arms or having no means of defence, has surrendered at discretion.

The declaring that no quarter will be given.

Using arms, projectiles, or any material of a nature to cause superfluous injury.

Making improper use of a flag of truce, the national flag or military ensigns, and the enemy's uniform, as well as the distinctive badges of the Geneva convention.

Destroying or seizing an enemy's property unless that be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war.

The agreement recognizes as allowable the employment of ruses of war and such methods as are necessary to obtain information about the enemy and the enemy's country, while in regard to spies it is provided that :

"An individual can only be considered a spy if, acting clandestinely or on false pretences, he obtains or seeks to obtain information in the zone of operations of a belligerent, with the intention of communicating it to the hostile party. Thus, soldiers not in disguise, who have penetrated into the zone of operations of a hostile army to obtain information, are not considered spies. Similarly, the following are not considered spies: Soldiers or civilians, carrying out their mission openly, charged with the delivery of dispatches destined either for their own army or for that of the enemy. To this class belong, likewise, individuals sent in balloons to deliver dispatches, and generally to maintain communication between the various parts of an army or a territory."

The ratification was a foregone conclusion, of course. All of the provisions of the agreement are directly in the line of common humanity, and simply register, in another way, the progress of the moral sense of Christendom. They will not do away with the essential horrors of warfare but should, nevertheless, be welcomed for whatever amelioration they do and

will afford, and welcomed not only by the "peace lovers" as a matter of sentiment, but by every serious student of societary evolution, who is far-sighted enough to see that progress always comes by installments, and well-balanced enough not to get discouraged because every new reform effort does not immediately bring in the Utopia of universal peace and plenty.

Labor Opinion on the Arbitration Conference The most prominent and representative leaders of organized labor in the United States have given enthusiastic and practically united endorsement to the results of the labor and capital conference, held in New York City last December. The new arbitration committee appointed by the conference, and containing some of the leading representatives of organized labor, organized capital, and the general public, is regarded on nearly every hand as a great step forward towards industrial peace with more permanent and increasing welfare for the working classes. It is interesting to compare some of the utterances of standard labor publications in the country with the malignant ravings of the socialist press on the same subject:

"With the increasing power and influence of our great labor movement . . . the time has come when this power is being reckoned with by the representative employers of labor, who have concluded that antagonism to organized labor is vain and unprofitable, and who see the wisdom of a policy of conciliation. They realize that it is better, more intelligent, and progressive."—*American Federationist*, Washington, D. C.

"So far as the committee has gone it gives promise of being a practical body. This of itself augurs well for substantial results from its future deliberations."—*Coast Seamen's Journal*, San Francisco, Cal.

"It may seem optimistic, but it looks as if the shadow of the approaching millennium was projected upon the screen of industrial affairs when John Mitchell, Charles Schwab, Mark Hanna, Samuel Gompers, Bishop Potter, and Archbishop Ireland met, put their feet under the table, and discussed ways and means to prevent industrial

wars. The man who would have predicted this ten years ago would have been laughed to scorn and would have been deemed a visionary." —*United Mine Workers' Journal*, Indianapolis, Ind.

"This meeting did mark the beginning of the progress of capital and labor toward the open ground of fairness and consideration that would bring us toward the accomplishment of our desires for friendly relations between capital and labor. If nothing else ever comes from the meeting it at least has given capital and labor a better understanding of the purposes of each other and we believe a higher regard and a greater consideration for the rights of each other.

"The *Journal* is well satisfied with the meeting; it was the proper thing to do."—*Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio.

"It will usher in a better era for American labor. . . . To have such a resource is a boon to both capital and labor and a blessing to the entire nation. In view of the costliness of strikes, it is a wonder that we did not have something like it long ago."—*National Labor Tribune*, Pittsburg, Pa.

"It is gratifying to know that all sides are endeavoring to bring about industrial peace. When it is understood that all controversies between capital and labor are to be voluntarily submitted to arbitration, both sides will endeavor to have their cases as near right as possible, to the end that it may be adjudicated upon its merits."—*Labor World*, Duluth, Minn.

By contrast, here are specimen comments
Spurious "Friends" of the socialist press. The first is from
of Labor
an article headed "Fleecers and Fakirs":

This is the body which at its several meetings in the Chamber of Commerce and Cooper Union last May attracted attention by its effort to federate the representatives of the large employing corporations and associations with the fakirs at the head of the labor organizations for the purpose of establishing the principles of conciliation and voluntary arbitration as the best means to prevent strikes and lockouts. . . . There are expected to be present the fakirs of the labor organizations, among them the A. F. of L., which is now in session in Scranton, but which will adjourn in time for this meeting, and the various brotherhoods of railroad employees."—*The People*, New York City.

"We cannot see that any good can come in union officials hobnobbing with those who have mercilessly attacked labor upon every occasion, and such speeches as those made by Sargent and Phillips will cause many workmen to believe and charge that they sold out. Unionism will be enervated and robbed of the spirit of class-consciousness and aggression and damaged in other ways."—*Citizen*, Cleveland, Ohio.

"In exactly the same way, this industrial peace conference has not tried to remove the cause of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, blacklists, and injunctions. That cause is the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, setting the interests of the two classes in direct opposition. That cause remaining in full operation, the pledges made by Hanna and Schwab on the one hand, or by Gompers and Mitchell on the other, however honestly made, NEITHER WILL NOR CAN BIND THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE WHEN THE OCCASION FOR INDUSTRIAL WAR ARISES."—*The Worker*, New York City.

"Hanna's anxiety in the present case, his desire to bring about a 'friendly relation between labor and capital,' is the result of his desire to continue the power of the capitalist class, which he knows cannot be done unless something is done in the 'friendly relation' direction; that is, unless they hoodwink the working class into the continued belief that their interests are identical with the interests of capital."—*Missouri Socialist*, St. Louis, Mo.

The meaning of this is, simply, that every great step forward under our present industrial system is gall and wormwood to the socialist mind. It is only so much added evidence that the conditions of the masses are not growing more and more desperate, and therefore lends no fuel to the socialist fire. Socialism has no faith in the possibilities of progress under the present industrial system, and welcomes any evidence of distress under it as leading all the more swiftly to an uprising for socialism as the universal remedy.

It is for the intelligent workingmen of the country to draw their own conclusions from these comparisons. They have chosen to entrust their interests and cause in the hands of men whom the socialist press is labeling as "fakirs" and frauds. The union men represent the millions of American workingmen. They know, and none know it better, that these representations are simply libelous falsehoods; and this very fact ought to afford a wholesome lesson for organized workingmen, as to just about how much credit ought to be given to the sensational charges against our present industrial system as a whole, emanating from sources capable of

such malignant fabrication on subjects where the laborers *know* the literal truth of the matter, and hence know also the grossness of the misrepresentation.

Progress
of Labor
Arbitration

That the spirit of arbitration-in-advance is making steady headway has evidence in many quarters. The civic federation movement itself is the most prominent sign; the settlement of the Boston strike is in line with the tendency, and two agreements recently made in the iron and steel industry show the growing strength of the disposition to meet and consider rather than to separate and fight. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, in January, agreed with the American Steel Hoop Company and the Republic Iron and Steel Company that no mills should be shut down during the coming summer; that is, no strike is to be declared, even though the wage scale to be settled later on proves not to be satisfactory. When this scale is adopted, an effort will be made to have it extended over a period of three years, and the desirability of this to the employers especially will weigh in favor of a satisfactory wage scale being secured by the men. The other agreement is that concluded between the amalgamated association and the American Tin Plate Company on March 5th, fixing a scale of wages to continue until July, 1903. As a part of this agreement, also, no strike is to be declared while the new scale is in force. In brief, the public is practically assured that there will be no repetition this year of the disastrous strike in the iron and steel industry last summer. Such agreements are encouraging steps towards industrial peace, and with ordinary reasonableness on both sides it ought to be possible to maintain these relations permanently.

Current Price
Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	April 21, 1901	Jan. 21, 1901	April 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.90	\$3 90	\$4.00
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel)	79 $\frac{3}{4}$	79 $\frac{3}{8}$	88 $\frac{7}{8}$
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel)	50	47	69
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel)	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.)	15.50	14.00	16.87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.)	21.00	17.50	20.75
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.)	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{4}{100}$
Sugar, granulated (lb.)	5 $\frac{10}{100}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{7}{100}$
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . .	20	22	28
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy (lb.)	12	12	13
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . .	8 $\frac{3}{8}$	9 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Print cloths (yard)	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	7 $\frac{6}{100}$	7 $\frac{4}{100}$	7 $\frac{4}{100}$
Hides, native steers (lb.)	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Leather, hemlock (lb.)	24	24	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.)	16.00	15.50	19.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.)	15.00	15.25	17.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	25.90	26.75	27.80
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . .	17.00	16.87 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.)	4.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.10
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	—	—	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.)	—	—	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.)	—	—	2.05

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	April 5, 1901	Mar. 7, 1902	April 4, 1902
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5 10 0	5 5 0	5 5 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 12 9	2 13 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 13 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Copper (" ")	68 11 3	54 12 6	52 15 0
Tin, Straits (" ")	115 15 0	114 10 0	119 10 0
Lead, English pig (" ")	13 3 9	11 17 6	11 15 0
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . .	0 0 4 $\frac{5}{8}$	0 0 4 $\frac{2}{8}$	0 0 4 $\frac{1}{8}$
Petroleum (gallon)	0 0 6 $\frac{5}{8}$	0 0 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	0 0 6 $\frac{3}{8}$

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for April 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Apr. 1, 1898	Apr. 1, 1899	Apr. 1, 1900	Apr. 1, 1901	Mar. 1, 1902	Apr. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . . .	\$17.700	\$13.619	\$14.099	\$14.380	\$15.221	\$19.868	\$19.232
Meats.	7.895	7.881	7.790	8.823	9.294	9.884	10.479
Dairy and garden	13.180	11.848	11.680	12.604	13.519	15.611	13.832
Other food. . . .	9.185	8.366	9.052	9.349	9.208	8.910	8.827
Clothing.	13.430	14.715	14.615	17.633	14.991	15.498	15.145
Metals.	14.665	11.435	14.314	17.793	16.048	15.563	15.153
Miscellaneous . .	13.767	12.235	12.650	16.796	16.629	16.259	16.554
Total	\$89.822	\$80.099	\$84.200	\$97.378	\$94.910	\$101.593	\$99.222

The general average of prices, according to *Dun's* tables, fell a little more than 2 per cent. during the month of March, and this in spite of the pronounced advance in meats. The chief points of decline were in metals, clothing and breadstuffs. As compared with a year ago, the general average at present is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher, due almost entirely to the increase in foodstuffs and meats. The increase in breadstuffs was about 27 per cent. during the year and in meats 13 per cent., and the general average would have been somewhat higher than it is but for a simultaneous decline in metals of over $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and small declines in the group of sundries and of miscellaneous food products. In brief, the increase during the year has come through the agricultural, hand labor or "individual industry" group of products, while the group showing the most important decline, metals, is that most closely associated with modern capitalistic methods, in which the economies of organization and improvement of productive methods tend to bring about a cheapening movement of prices; whereas in many rural and hand labor industries, where machinery and organization cannot be utilized to anything like the same extent to offset the

increasing expense of human labor, an upward trend of prices is practically inevitable, in progressive communities at least.

**Basis of High
Meat Prices**

This broad general fact is what really lies at the bottom of the whole disturbance about the present increased price of beef. Whatever manipulations may have been practiced by the large meat dealers in Chicago, through joint action, the starting point of the present price disturbance is not in the packing houses but on the ranches and farms. There has probably not been a time in years when there was such a scarcity of fat cattle available for slaughter as there is this spring, throughout the country. There has been a gradual decline in the number of oxen and other cattle raised in this country for the meat market, from an average of 36,827,028 in 1891, 1892 and 1893, to only 27,610,054 in 1900, while the total value of this stock actually increased from an average of \$554,253,089 in the first years named to \$689,486,260 in 1900;—that is, from \$15.05 to \$24.97 per head, or 66 per cent. Of course, \$15.05 and \$24.97 do not represent actual prices of steers at Chicago, because the total numbers and values of cattle here quoted include cattle of all sizes and ages, from calves up, and not at Chicago, but on the thousands of ranches and farms all over the country, while prices at quotation points like Chicago include transportation, stockyard charges, etc. The above average prices “per head,” however, do indicate the trend of values for the whole group of cattle raised for slaughter, of which the fattened stock brought to Chicago form about the same proportion of the whole in one year as in another. Hence an increase of 66 per cent., per head, in the whole group indicates practically the same, perhaps even greater, increase in the value of matured stock avail-

able for the market. This shows conclusively that the decline in the number of cattle is not due to systematic forcing down of the price of live stock by the "meat combine," as the sensational press persistently charges. The smaller number of cattle is due to various causes,—partly to the increased cost of farm and ranch labor, partly to the gradual converting of free grazing lands in the far West to settled farming land, forcing a larger use of inclosed lands for stock raising, and partly to the superior profitableness of other lines of agricultural industry. While this combination of influences has lessened the raising of cattle, it has at the same time been forcing up the price in response to the increased cost, and in the last few years we have had several culminating points where this upward pressure has shown itself in increased prices of dressed meats. Considering, along with fewer cattle, the increase in population, and hence in the demand for meats, it is surprising that the price advance has not been even greater; in fact, but for the improvements in the methods of packing and distribution of meats, with the cheapening of transportation, we should undoubtedly have had during the last ten years not merely occasional upward spurts in meat prices but a steady and permanent increase, reflected directly from the increasing scarcity and high cost of the live stock. A large part of this has been neutralized by the improvements referred to; in proof of which, the average price of extra mess beef per barrel for 1891, 1892 and 1893 was \$7.79; in 1900, \$9.73, an increase of 25 per cent., while during the same period, as already shown, the value per head of beef on the hoof rose 66 per cent.

In addition to the general causes of higher meat prices, the immediate increase has been induced partly by the scarcity and high price of corn during the past season. The relative failure of the corn crop last year

sent up the price until it is now 69 cents per bushel as compared with 50 cents on April 21st one year ago. This has meant that many farmers found it more profitable to sell the corn than to hold it for winter feeding of cattle, and the consequence is fewer fattened cattle available for the market this spring.

The natural result of the increased price is a decreased consumption of beef, and if the present prices should prevail for any length of time this lessened consumption would practically wipe out any increased profits that might be flowing to the so-called "trust," assuming the increases to be entirely the result of arbitrary manipulation. There may be some sort of an agreement between the large packers in Chicago, but it is neither in the large corporation form nor in "trust" proper form. If it is merely an agreement between a few large packers, it is safe to say that it could not possibly maintain itself for more than a very short time were it not based upon natural economic conditions rather than mere arbitrary attempt to "corner," yet the present prices are expected to prevail for several months. If good cattle were plenty and cheap, it would be impossible to hold together a "corner" of this sort for any such length of time in the face of declining consumption and the inroads of rival concerns. It is because the price conditions are fixed chiefly before the stock reaches the packers at all that nobody is able in the present emergency to compete on better terms than these large houses.

Combination
Should be
Genuine

Of course, if in the coming investigation by the attorney-general any arbitrary "cornering" process by the large packers comes to light, some kind of restraining action might be wholesome, since this would tend to bring about, instead of secret agreements, an open, legal and respon-

sible combination of these packing interests on a legitimate economic basis, similar to the great industrial organizations of the last few years. Mere price agreements between rival concerns is an entirely different matter from the general tendency of industrial concentration, and not at all of the same character. If a permanent organization of the meat-packing industries should come about, it would be impossible for them to shift responsibility among each other for price increases, and when such increases did come the public could locate more exactly and promptly than at present the real causes and extent of the movement. The greater definiteness as to the price and other conditions under which this major part of the meat supply was being handled would increase the possibilities of outside competition, and the whole industry would probably come upon a more satisfactory basis, such as is already being reached in other directions where concentration has taken its proper form,—permanent, responsible corporate combination for economical productive purposes.

PITFALLS OF REFORMERS

It is one thing to intend to reform an administration and quite another to do it. Everybody knows that President Roosevelt desires to improve the public service, but his method of operation is somewhat unique. It seems to be based on the "plague-on-both-your-houses" theory. When he finds it necessary to remove an incompetent or corrupt official, he apparently feels called upon to remove a good man at the same time. Perhaps that is his way of being fair to both sides. He could not be made to reappoint the incompetent and corrupt Bidwell as collector of the port of New York, but, as if to atone for this virtue, he felt it necessary to remove Appraiser Wakeman, the one conspicuously honest and competent man in the service, whose very honesty was the chief thorn in the side of the intolerable Bidwell.

In order to establish harmony between the administration and pension lobbyists and lawyers who trade on the name of the grand army, he has removed the admittedly best commissioner of pensions that has held the office since the war. Like Wakeman in the customs department, because Commissioner Evans could not live at peace with the rogues, virtue and efficiency could not save him.

It is said that, as an appreciation of his efficient administration of the pensions office, the president has decided to appoint Mr. Evans to another office of equal or higher rank. But, if Mr. Evans was so satisfactory in the pensions department, why should his resignation be demanded? and, if he was not satisfactory in that po-

sition, why should he be given another? If we are told that he was offensive to the grand army, the question at once arises,—What, from its standpoint, is the cause of his offending? If his efficient administration of the office was offensive to them, another similarly efficient commissioner will, of course, be equally objectionable. Manifestly, the only way to placate the objecting element of the grand army, in this case, is to appoint a commissioner more to their liking, which means one less true to law and the treasury. All this is so unlike President Roosevelt that it sets people wondering what the novel procedure means. He was never regarded as a profound statesman, nor an over-cautious leader, nor even a good listener, but he was everywhere believed to be a stickler to the last degree for honest efficiency in the public service. Hence the marvel at these things.

Now comes the immigration office. Ever since the appointment of Mr. Powderly as commissioner-general in Washington, there has been friction between the officers at the port of New York, where 82 per cent. of the immigrants arrive, and the Washington office. Commissioner Powderly, like Bidwell, used his official power to make his subordinates do dishonorable and corrupt political work, the only difference in the two being that Bidwell was using his office improperly to nominate a candidate for congress in New York, while Powderly was using his improperly to nominate a candidate for governor in Connecticut. Mr. Porter, the then private secretary to President McKinley, wanted the nomination for governor in Connecticut. To aid this project, with or without the knowledge of his superiors, Mr. Powderly wrote the following letter to Commissioner Fitchie, asking that he get Mr. McSweeney, who happened to be a democrat appointed under Cleveland, to go to Bridgeport to get democrats to attend the republican caucuses and help elect Porter delegates:

“TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 5, 1898. }

“My Dear Mr. Fitchie:

“I have just had a long interview with Mr. Porter, the president's private secretary, who is a candidate for governor of Connecticut. He wants help to carry the primaries, and it is, in a sense, an administration fight. In Bridgeport they have taken snap action in calling the caucuses for tomorrow night; this he did not know until after he had arranged for the interview with me. Under the rules of the party in that state, this year, any one who ‘believes in the principles of the republican party and who will vote for the nominees’ may vote in caucuses; and now to the point. Can you reach any one in that city who will assist Mr. Porter tomorrow evening? I know the time is short. The mayor of Bridgeport, Mayor Taylor, is friendly to Porter, but he is a candidate. Can't Mr. McSweeney run over and get some of his democratic friends to get into the caucuses and help our friends out? I make this suggestion, and ask you to do what you can. I am writing other friends on the subject. If you have any other one who understands Connecticut politics, who can be trusted, get him to work.

“With best wishes, I remain, sincerely yours,

“T. V. POWDERLY.”

To his credit be it said, Mr. McSweeney did not do this, and the friction between Washington and New York increased.

In view of these facts, the president feels compelled to remove Mr. Powderly, and, on his “plague-on-both-your-houses” theory, has decided to remove Deputy Commissioners Fitchie and McSweeney also, notwithstanding that the record of the office, and the testimony of all connected with it, shows that McSweeney has been an exceptionally efficient officer. The only complaint against McSweeney seems to be that Powderly could not get along with him, and for identically the same reason that Bidwell could not get along with Wakeman: namely, because he could not use him for corrupt purposes. It begins to look as if honesty in the federal administration is only a virtue when it can get along without perturbing dishonesty. Nobody questions the high motives and purpose of President Roosevelt,

but a few more cases like these will demonstrate that his method of reform needs reforming.

No man ever went to the presidency with such unlimited good-will of the public and determination to sustain him in the effort to give a high-grade administration. There was a momentary, subdued apprehension, but that was soon superseded by the hearty support of the nation, in the belief that an honest, energetic and patriotic character in the white house would make a permanent impress upon the national administration. In short, Mr. Roosevelt entered upon his duty as president with the support of the most genuinely generous public good-will that it was ever the fortune of the head of a great nation to receive. But it will take only a few more cases of the Wakeman, Evans and McSweeney type to break the spell, and the enemies of clean, honest administration, who are the enemies of Roosevelt, will be able triumphantly to exclaim: We told you so. It will be a calamity to the nation if Mr. Roosevelt justifies the ever-present prediction of the spoilsman that reformers are always failures.

THE PENDULUM OF REFORM

C. HANFORD HENDERSON, Ph. D.

More than twenty-three hundred years ago Socrates announced a most important truth. He announced the identity of knowledge and virtue; the identity of ignorance and vice. Knowledge is a perception of relations, an appreciation of the essential reasonableness of existence. Ignorance is a failure to perceive these relations. If we were infinitely wise, we would be infinitely good. Choice means the selection of that which seems to us, everything considered, to be the most desirable. Choice results in evil when our survey of the field seems inadequate, is either too partial, or admits false standards of valuation. Choice results in good whenever the survey of possibilities is accurate and complete. This is only another way of saying that the universe in which we find ourselves is a moral universe. The good act is followed by good results, the bad act by disaster. It is our test of right and wrong. By their fruits ye shall know them.

The Socratic insight has never been very popular. It was almost totally eclipsed during the night of the middle ages. It is to-day overshadowed by mysticism, by expediency, by too-literal doctrines of atonement and free grace, by the hundred obscurities under which men hide the fundamental relations of cause and effect. But nevertheless the Socratic conclusion has been amply verified by human experience. At the present moment it is receiving emphatic restatement at the hands of science. Spencer's test of evolved conduct is the completeness with which it adapts means to ends, and its character depends upon whether, from the largest point of view, these ends are happiness-producing. Such a

view of conduct makes education the social concern of paramount importance. It has indeed become a state function. We very properly estimate the progress of a people by their attitude and performance in matters of education, and particularly in matters of public education. The growing importance of Germany does not rest upon her ponderous armament, but upon the excellence of her educational system.

Education is, then, a change set up in the individual, a process by which he is brought from his smaller self into his larger self. It is the passage from a narrow, primitive, savage world into an enlightened and evolved social world. It is, in fact, the process of evolution. A part of the process is unconscious and quite without human guidance. It is the discipline of life, the inevitable reaction of the social environment. I am disposed to believe that this is the larger and more important part of the process, and to believe it in spite of the fact that the term education is commonly restricted to the conscious, humanly-directed operations of the school. It is a part of our schoolmaster arrogance to imagine ourself as the prime factor, and it is also a cause of schoolmaster defeat.

The true educator must look at education in this larger way, as a process covering the whole twenty-four hours, the whole year, the whole lifetime, and he must look upon himself as merely one out of its many agents. Social progress means the increased control and consciousness of the process of human evolution. So fundamental is the world-morality that whether we will or not society moves on to better performance. But human gratification requires participation. We enjoy a play, an opera, but only for a limited time. In the long run we prefer the larger world-stage, on which we are ourselves actors and singers. The joy of life is in lending a hand to the things that seem most worth while.

It is so in regard to the world-process, to evolution. We are most alive when we have caught sight of the drift of the process and have enlisted as one of its conscious agents. Teacher, writer, clergyman, settlement worker, statesman, reformer, physician, nurse—we are all one in the final terms of our purpose. We are trying to change men, and to change them for what we conceive to be the better. I shall speak of these conscious agents of evolution, collectively, as humanists. I should like to say socialists, but they would not all be willing.

To work intelligently the humanist must recognize what elements in a man's make-up are capable of change, what direction the change must take in order to be in harmony with social evolution and what method is most effective in setting up the change. There is great diversity of opinion in regard to method and direction, but the world is pretty much agreed that, broadly speaking, there are three elements in man which are distinctly capable of change. You may change a man's ideas; you may change his body; you may change his surroundings. These three elements represent the entire field for social action. The pendulum of reform has swung first to one, then to another, then to a third, and is still swinging.

It is an old enterprise, the effort to change a man's ideas. Until very recently it was almost the sole purpose of school and church and press. To the church, salvation did not mean a slow regeneration of the whole man. It was a sudden act, a conversion, the giving up of one set of ideals and the adoption of a totally new set. To the school, education, since the downfall of Grecian ideals, has been almost wholly an affair of the head. It has concerned itself with language, history, philosophy, logic, pure mathematics. It has been the same with letters. Literature has felt itself free to deal

with the impossible and the grotesque, with ghosts and paragon. On the whole, the result of this enterprise, the attempt to change men's ideas only, has been distinctly disappointing. It has produced a civilization which can boast many admirable qualities, but which is marked nevertheless by somewhat bloodless and remote ideals and by men and women making somewhat feeble efforts to attain these ideals. We have the phenomena of invalidism, anemia, nervous prostration, dull hearing, faulty eyesight, degeneracy, insanity, the phenomena of a humanity somewhat deficient in strength and beauty and charm, somewhat poor in sturdy moral worth.

It is well for the humanist to acknowledge this defeat with the utmost frankness, and yet not allow it for a moment to discredit the value of the original effort, the attempt to change man's ideas for the better. The attempt must suffer no slackening. It makes a tremendous difference what men think as they work; what ideas actuate them, however remotely; what views they hold in regard to human life and human destiny. The academic education which concerns itself with this change may not wisely be neglected, but it must learn the lessons of past defeats and mistakes and become increasingly practical and causational in its work.

It has been the partial defeat of this well-meant effort to change ideas that has led the pendulum of social reform to swing of late very strongly towards that possibility of betterment represented by changing the human body. The attempt has been the double one of increasing the bodily health and sharpening the bodily faculties. The first has given us the growing cult of gymnastic; the second has brought about the handwork of the kindergarten, of sloyd and manual training, and the culture of the hand and eye and voice and ear involved in all art work—in drawing, carving

and modelling, in singing and in instrumental music. Work upon the human body is as old as the human self. The unconscious part of education represented by the process of evolution has largely spent itself upon the human body. When education became conscious and directed, it attempted, in the earlier days at least, to operate through the body directly as well as through the ideas. In Greece the work was crowned with a success greater than time has since repeated.

Judging from the records of personal prowess and from the splendid lines of the portrait statues of the heroes, and the idealized forms of her gods, the human body in Greece had come well-nigh perfection. One is tempted to wonder why such a perfect type should have failed to dominate the earth, why it should have disappeared so completely as it did. The inquiry is too large for any casual answering, but the defect in the series of human changes brought about by Grecian humanists was a moral defect. These were superb bodies, acute minds, but deficient brotherhood, a too small heart. In attempting to correct this defect in the pagan world, Christianity not only placed all the stress of her work upon the change of heart, the world of the idea, but did negative work upon the body, changing it through ascetic mortifications to something less admirable than it had been. Conceiving, as the earlier dualistic Christianity did, that the body warred against the spirit, and holding that the spirit was of greater worth, our medieval humanists, and even many of our modern and present-day humanists, have been trying to carry on their work of human betterment by the suppression and denial of the body, the deliberate lessening of bodily strength and beauty. Had these workers succeeded in producing a type of man and woman whom the world could at all agree in admiring, there had been no quarrel with their method; but, as I have been trying

very briefly to point out, the result is distinctly disappointing. And so the pendulum of social endeavor is swinging towards a new hope and we notice on all sides the increasing cult of the body. It remains to be seen whether the pendulum will swing too far, whether like Greece we shall end by producing men and women fair and goodly to look upon, but lacking the educational and moral fibre which will make them worthy keepers of supremacy.

There are many reasons for taking a more hopeful view of the effect of this physical reaction. It is not at all probable that we shall profit directly by the example of Greece. It is too remote from the immediate affairs of daily life to have great hold upon any but our small class of philosophers. But it is observable, and the occasion of good expectation, that this modern cult of the body is undertaken in a distinctly modern spirit. Gymnastic is not offered by present humanists in order to produce athletes and to rest there. It is offered to produce men and women of sound bodily health and high social efficiency. The thought is so to change the body that it shall be the better servant of the human will. There is happily the same love of strength and beauty and accomplishment, but these terms have come to have a more human meaning. The strength must be moral and social as well as a matter of foot-pounds; the beauty must be touched with spirit, must be something more than anatomical; the accomplishment must express itself in some art-form, in social service.

The same deeper motive is observable in that other half of physical culture, in the training and betterment of the bodily faculties. The purpose is social and human. It is not so much a training of the body for the body's sake as it is the training of the spirit *through* the body, for social and esthetic ends. As a serious work of the humanists this changing of human faculties

to something keener and more effective is hardly more than a quarter of a century old. Evolution has always been at work along these lines. But it was a non-human process. It was the survival of the fittest, the going-under of the defective, the mastery of the well-endowed. In modern competitive life there is the same struggle, the same coming-out ahead of more favored individuals, the same pushing to the wall of the weak. But education, as a conscious, moral agent of evolution, attempts to make the struggle less brutal; to equalize the conditions by mending bodily defects; to better conditions by adding personal bodily power to all.

In the practical conduct of life, touch and sight are the faculties most needing to be trained and this is the work undertaken by our education handwork. It cultivates hand and eye, not to make artisans, but to produce individuals of greater power. The whole spirit of this newer organic education is to make the body a better, keener tool and to do this by sharpening human faculties. The same sort of danger attends this attempt to change the body as attended the attempt to change the ideas alone, the danger of producing a human result so one-sided as to turn men face about in a contrary direction. The defeat of the pagan world led to Christian asceticism. The defeat of our modern effort to redeem and perfect the body would lead to a second attempt at subjugation and denial.

The great unconscious agent of evolution has always been environment. Food and scarcity, comrades and enemies, heat and cold, moisture and dryness, air and water, light and darkness, have been the effective schoolmasters employed by nature. Change the surroundings of plant or animal, and, as we all know, you change the life. It is a change that can be applied to man. The method is old. It has been used by the

humanists both in trying to change others and in trying to change themselves. The monk in his cell, the hermit in his cave, shut out the world, reduce the material of thought, for the deliberate purpose of stifling all thinking and surrendering themselves to the mystic realities of a vague emotion. The skilful management of light and shade and color, the subtleties of music and voice, the fine art of food and drink, the effects of incense and perfumes, are attempts in a more worldly way to influence a man through his surroundings. It is a joint appeal to ideas and to body. An agency employed unremittently by the world-process itself, and apparently employed alone, must rank very high among the resources of a more conscious education. While it has always been employed to a larger or smaller extent in bringing about those changes already discussed, it has never been exploited to the full, and has only recently been given due place among social forces. The tactful hostess, the successful teacher, the wise physician, are all alive to the potent influence of surroundings. There have been specific public movements working along these same lines.

The esthetic movement of the past generation, a movement which found its comic expression in the opera of "Patience," a somewhat absurd and discredited expression at the hands of the English esthetes and their imitators, and a sound moral expression through the genius of William Morris and his followers, was one of these attempts to change men through their surroundings, through the compelling power of beauty. Social reformers are seizing the same chance. The attempt to bring taverns and public houses under the control of socially-minded persons is prompted by the desire to make the atmosphere and surroundings speak for temperance and decency in place of excess and license. The colorings of the walls is changed from the exciting red end of the spectrum to the more serene violet end;

the lights are lowered and reduced; books and magazines suggest a life above that of the beasts. Experience shows that these are practical measures and have their due effect. Builders of model tenements and settlement workers are after the same result—the redemption wrought by better environment. The effort is becoming increasingly subtle and is now passing into the region of psychic influences. The brute part of evolution was the process of animal bodies and material surroundings. It is now more and more a matter of spiritual atmosphere. Along with climate and sanitary dwellings we must take into account the qualities of the human spirit, its serenity, its confidence, its enthusiasms, and also, unfortunately, its nervousness, doubts and apathy, for these produce reactions in the neighboring spirit.

Human progress has been, by fits and starts, an intermittent thing. The reforms of the world have been carried by over-enthusiasms, by a species of intemperance. The on-rush of the world-process is the grand resultant of a multitude of devious courses, and not at all a straight, front-faced marching on towards excellence. So one must welcome any movement, however oblique, if it yield even a small component in the direction of progress. The humanist movements for changing man's ideas and his body and his surroundings have all yielded harvest, but they are capable of infinitely greater returns. The success of each separate effort has been measured by the extent to which, consciously or unconsciously, it has involved the other two elements susceptible of change. The amount of failure in each effort is the precise amount of failure to recognize the other elements. Ideas which do not express themselves in cleaner, stronger, more beautiful bodies and in more ideal surroundings are mere idle words. Bodies not informed and governed by moral and esthetic ideas, not encompassed by suitable surroundings, are so much

brute strength. Surroundings which merely attract for the moment or simply astonish, but which exert no permanent influence upon the ideas and bodies of men are at once stamped with social failure.

This interdependence of mind and body and environment is the experience of men everywhere. It is also the direct teaching of experimental psychology. For it turns out that man is not a casual union of separable entities called mind and body, living in an unrelated world of things, but is above all else a unit, an integral consciousness. Human good fortune means the joint good fortune of mind and body and their joint expression in suitable surroundings. The oscillations of the pendulum of effort have served society by successively placing an over-emphasis upon the several social elements. But now our attention has been duly called to them. We learn the lesson badly if we continue to hammer away at any single element and neglect the rest. It is not a foolish thing to make mistakes,—that is the price of progress,—but it is a very foolish thing to repeat them. Social salvation must come about by changing men's ideas and bodies and homes, not separately but contemporaneously, for human health is a matter of the whole organism, and knowledge, the objective side of virtue, is the result of this larger and more complete outlook.

FOREIGN TRADE DELUSIONS

One of the most fertile sources of confused public opinion on industrial affairs is the misinterpretation of economic facts. It is one thing to study facts in the light of a theory and quite another to use them only in support of a theory. There is no industrial phenomenon more subject to the latter process than the "balance of trade." All nations, under all circumstances, try to secure a favorable balance in their international trade. This has frequently been pointed to as conclusive evidence of prosperity, and has been made the object of public policy, especially by old-school protectionists. Since England's imports often exceed her exports free trade doctrinaires insist that an adverse balance of trade is really a good thing. This is a case of working facts to support a theory and not interpreting facts in the light of established principle.

This method often leads to misinterpretation of facts and entirely false conclusions, and sometimes will promote a vicious policy. No less a historian and economist than Thorold Rogers, in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," one of the excellent books on economic history, vitiated much of his work by falling victim to this kind of mistake. He was irrevocably committed to the doctrine that supply and demand govern prices, and that the supply and demand of laborers determine wages. In explaining the phenomena at the opening of the 14th century, Mr. Rogers found that there was a severe famine from 1315 to 1321. After the famine he found wages had risen. Since, according to his theory, wages never could rise except by a change in the supply and demand of laborers, he concluded from the very fact that wages rose that there must have been an extraordinary death-rate.

Thus he inferred his history as to the death-rate from his theory that supply and demand govern wages, although there is no historic evidence whatever of any exceptional death-rate from that famine. That the rise of wages was not due to any such extraordinary death-rate he afterwards verified, having forgotten his argument to the contrary, by showing that the failure of the crops threw multitudes out of work, and they roamed about the country like "marauding banditti." If Thorold Rogers had known what is now a recognized truth, that wages follow the cost of living, it would have been easy for him to understand that the high price of food in the famine fully explained the rise of wages without any invented increased mortality, even though idle laborers were abundant. This error, which is a blot on a great work, was the result of inventing facts to sustain a theory.

The *Syracuse Herald* has recently given evidence of being the victim of this mode of reasoning regarding the balance of trade. As evidence that the favorable balance of trade in Cuba did not indicate prosperity, but the reverse, it cites certain years of poor business in this country when the balance of trade was larger than in certain other years of greater business prosperity, and, as a clincher to the reasoning that a favorable balance of trade does not indicate prosperity, it says:

"The most prosperous country in the world next to the United States . . . is England; and the balance of trade against England is always heavy, the excess of imports over exports sometimes reaching 50 per cent."

Of course, if this language has any meaning, it is that an adverse balance of foreign trade is a good thing for a nation and excess of imports over exports is an indication of national prosperity.

We ventured to correct this notion of the *Herald*

regarding England, in our April issue. If it were true that an adverse balance of trade contributed to the prosperity of the nation, that experience alone would lead nations to seek an adverse balance of trade, regardless of any theory of political science. The fact is, however, that the experience of all nations from time immemorial has been the other way. No matter what the party or political theory, or national ideal, or form of government, or state of civilization, the statesmen of every country have ever sought to secure a favorable balance of foreign trade. To this there is absolutely no exception. Free-trade England struggles for it just as hard as protected Germany, France and the United States.

It was then pointed out that the *Herald* was laboring under a delusion regarding England's adverse balance of trade. As a matter of fact, the balance of trade was not against England but nearly always in her favor, and it was because the balance of trade was almost uniformly favorable to England that she had become the great money center, for the reason that adverse balances have to be paid in cash, and cash has long been flowing in an almost unbroken stream towards England. It is true that her trade imports have often been larger than her exports, but the difference is more than made up by the income from the foreign investments of English capital. This seems to have disabused the *Herald* of its error on that point, but it returns to the subject still unsatisfied, on other points, and says:

"In GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for March appeared an editorial article on industrial conditions in Cuba, in which the fact that Cuba's exports last year exceeded her imports by \$9,000,000 was solemnly cited as a proof that the reports of industrial distress and destitution in that island were greatly exaggerated;" and then asks: "Why, in the three fiscal years of 1894, 1895 and 1896, a period of financial stringency and industrial stagnation, our favorable balance of trade mounted, in the aggregate, to \$415,596,414, or very nearly double the total of the three flush years preceding?"

This shows how mistaken habits may render it very difficult to see what we are looking at or state things correctly. The *Herald* is mistaken in saying that Cuba's favorable balance of \$9,000,000 "was solemnly cited as a proof that the reports of distress and destitution in that island were greatly exaggerated." The proofs that were cited that the reports of distress and destitution were not only exaggerated but untrue were the facts that labor is fully employed and wages are rising. Distress and starvation can never exist in any country when those two facts are present. Anything verging on starvation among the laboring classes in any country is always accompanied by enforced idleness. A pressing demand for labor and rising wages make distress and starvation among laborers impossible. These facts we did cite as proof that reports about distress and destitution were exaggerated. The \$9,000,000 favorable balance was cited only as another incident in the same direction, but not in any sense as the decisive evidence.

A country's prosperity is not measured nor correctly indicated by its foreign trade, whatever the nature of its balance is, but by its whole trade, domestic and foreign, the domestic always being of greater importance than the foreign. But, in any given state of trade, a favorable balance is preferable to an adverse balance. A nation may have a comparatively large favorable balance of trade with a small total volume and be worse off than with a smaller balance, or even no balance, but with a large volume of domestic trade. The prosperity of a nation is measured by the aggregate trade, which indicates the consumption and productive employment of its people. A nation would be better off to pay for its balance in cash, with high domestic prosperity, than it would to receive a balance in cash with depleted domestic industry and small con-

sumption, low wages and enforced idleness. But the fact remains that there is an advantage in a favorable as compared with an unfavorable balance, with the same condition of domestic industry and employment of home labor.

Now this was the case at the period in this country to which the *Syracuse Herald* refers, although here again it seems unfamiliar with the careful presentation of the facts. For instance, it cites the years 1894, 1895 and 1896 as years of stringency, and 1891, 1892 and 1893 as the years of great prosperity, which is incorrect. 1893 was the first year of industrial paralysis. That was the year of the greatest number of bankruptcies, closing of mills and financial panic. With one exception, it was the year of smallest exports of domestic products. In order to get the truth of the situation it is necessary at least to state the facts correctly. The total volume of business during the period of depression, 1893-1896 inclusive, was very much smaller than during the prosperous years. For instance, in 1892 the total foreign trade was \$1,857,680,610. The average for the next four years was only \$1,615,760,263, or \$241,920,347 less. This means that \$241,920,347 of the aggregate prosperity, as represented in foreign trade, had disappeared.

In taking the exports it should be remembered that they are of two kinds. There is export of the products actually produced in this country, and the re-export of products imported into this country. The exports which really represent employment of labor and domestic prosperity are the domestic products. In 1892 the export of domestic products was \$1,015,732,011. The next year this fell (in round numbers) to \$831,000,000, and by 1895 dropped to \$793,000,000, and the average for the four years was \$839,207,202, or nearly \$200,000,000 less than in 1892. This indicated, so far as

foreign trade was concerned, a diminution of about \$200,000,000 in business and employment. The amount of the exports consisting of imported products increased instead of diminishing during this period. For the three years preceding 1893, the total export of foreign products amounted to \$39,291,520, or an average of \$13,097,173 a year. During the four years, 1893 to 1896 inclusive, when the total export of domestic products was only \$3,356,828,808, or an average of \$839,207,202, the re-exported was \$73,122,061, or an average of \$18,280,515. In other words, it was more than one-third greater when the domestic export was actually smaller, showing that even the smaller volume of exports was made up of a very much larger proportion of foreign products.

During the succeeding four years, the volume of domestic exports rose from \$3,356,828,808, or \$839,207,202 per year, to an aggregate of \$4,816,994,309, or an average of \$1,204,248,577 per year, an increase in the volume of annual domestic exports of \$365,041,375, which means that much increase in the employment of domestic labor and capital at home. If we compare the total volume of trade for the two periods, this fact is even more impressive. For the four years, 1893 to 1896, the total imports and exports amounted to \$6,463,041,052, while for the following four years the aggregate was \$7,831,852,009, an increase of \$1,368,810,957. When we realize that it is the volume of business and not the mere balance that really furnishes the basis and indication of prosperity, it is easy to see that the nearly \$1,400,000,000 larger trade in the latter period would indicate a higher state of prosperity, without any favorable balance, and perhaps with an adverse balance, than the former period would with a large balance, because the benefit or disadvantage of the balance is only the

difference between having to pay money and paying it in goods.

In its misinterpretation of the bearing of the balance of trade on national welfare, the *Herald* may have erred through following an erroneous method of economic reasoning. But in grouping the years and lumping the balance of trade for different periods, it shows signs of juggling with the figures. For instance, it says:

"For the three fiscal years of 1891, 1892 and 1893, which were among the most prosperous in our history, the total balance of trade in favor of the United States was \$223,704,572. Then came the hard times, etc."

The *Herald* here puts 1893 in the group of prosperous years, although that was in many respects one of the worst years of the period. As already stated, it was the time of the worst phase of the panic and the greatest number of bankruptcies. The only reason for putting 1893 in with the prosperous group and leaving 1890 out was to make the favorable balance of trade appear smaller in the prosperous period, as in 1893 there was a balance of \$18,737,728 against us, and in 1890, the first of the three prosperous years, there was a favorable balance of \$68,518,275. The total balance of the three prosperous years, 1890, 1891, 1892, which, if we are to group at all must be grouped together, was \$310,958,575, instead of \$223,704,572, as stated by the *Herald*, and the period of depression which the *Herald* gives as 1894, 1895 and 1896 should include 1893. But by this juggling it eliminated the \$68,518,275 of 1890 and substituted in its place the deficit for 1893. Hence its statement that the balance of trade in the period of depression was nearly double that of the flush preceding years is literally untrue.

The simple facts are that, for the three flush years preceding 1893, the yearly favorable balance of trade

was \$103,652,858; during the four bad years, 1893 to 1896, the average annual favorable balance was \$99,214,671, or more than \$4,000,000 less, instead of being nearly double.

If we take the last four years, with the return of prosperity, we see the balance mounts up to an aggregate of \$1,976,112,531, or an average annual balance of \$494,028,132, the balance for 1900 being \$544,541,898. Our advice to the *Syracuse Herald* on this subject is, first, correctly to state a proposition that it is going to criticise; second, to learn the correct method of economic interpretation; and, third, not to juggle with figures. That done, there is no real difficulty in understanding why the balance of trade during the four years of our depression did not indicate nearly so much prosperity as the slightly larger balance of the three preceding years, or of the much larger balance of the four succeeding years.

The simple reason is that the volume of business, both in domestic production and export, was very much smaller, and therefore there was neither as much wages nor as much profit, nor as much involved in the transactions, and there were the same number of people to support. That is a very simple, intelligible reason, but if the balance of ninety-nine millions a year during the years of depression had represented a domestic business of full employment it would have indicated more advantageous foreign trade than if it had been a balance the other way. The \$103,000,000 favorable balance of 1890 to 1892 indicated prosperity, not because it was larger than in the period of depression, but because it was a balance coming from a large volume of business in proportion to the population, a volume of business which gave full and profitable employment to the capital and labor of the country. If that same balance had come from a diminished volume of business it would

not have indicated prosperity, but even then it would have indicated a more advantageous trade situation *per se* than an adverse balance under the same conditions.

In the last four years, 1897 to 1900, the favorable balance is nearly five times as large as during the period of depression, but even that would not indicate prosperity unless taken in connection with the comparative increase in the total business represented. But this increase of nearly 400 per cent. in the balance of trade represents a volume of business \$1,368,810,957 larger than that of the preceding period; so that the favorable balance of \$554,541,898 for 1900 represents still greater prosperity, because it is the favorable balance for a single year on a volume of business more than 45 per cent. greater than that of 1895. This fact alone would represent a state of prosperity if there were no favorable balance at all, but a favorable balance of over \$554,000,000 is a still further indication of prosperity, just the same as the fact that labor is in great demand and wages rising in Cuba is the prime proof that there is no exceptional starvation and destitution among the laboring classes, and a favorable balance of trade of \$9,000,000, coupled with this fact, is a further indication that the clamor about starving Cuba is highly exaggerated, if not entirely false.

COMMERCE AS A NATIONAL PEACEMAKER

W. P. WILSON, Sc. D.

Since the war of independence, although the world has unfortunately seen the ravages of war in their most awful form, the influence of commerce in its extraordinary development has, on the whole, been in the direction of peace. The Napoleonic wars, that of England with Russia, Germany with France, and our own frightful civil war, had their origin in political difficulties.

The disaster which followed, by reason of their interference with the peaceful commerce of nations, has at least served to bring home the necessity for a state of society in which trade may flow from country to country and commerce remain undisturbed by armed aggression.

The recognition of the essential fact that trade should not be restricted by disturbances, as a guarantee that peace shall be maintained, is due, of course, to the complicated affair which the commerce of modern days has become.

It is not long since the slow-moving sailing vessel formed the sole means of transportation upon the seas, and the cumbersome wagon train afforded the only facilities for moving goods upon the land. The elaborate machinery of the present day was lacking. Commerce was comparatively a simple affair. Nearly every country was sufficient unto itself, and, while engaged to a greater or lesser extent in trading with other nations, this exterior commerce was not found essential to existence.

With the growth of civilization, the increase of population, and the varied wants of man, due to dis-

coveries and invention, there has arisen a state of commercial interdependence among nations. The nation devoted exclusively to manufacturing finds it necessary to secure its food supplies elsewhere. Another, rich in natural resources but possessing a meager population, is compelled to import practically everything that is needed for food. Another, peculiarly adapted by nature to the production of specific articles, seeks a market in the farthest corners of the earth with as much ease as near-by markets were entered 100 years ago.

There has been a comprehensive classifying of the resources of nations, and an accurate estimate of the lines along which particular nations may best promote their commercial and industrial activity. A trade balance has been struck, so to speak. The age is one of commercial as well as political economics. The most effective utilization of natural resources and of natural ability is sought. Therefore, that which one country can do better than another engrosses its attention, and other requirements are satisfied by drawing upon the ability of other countries themselves more favorably situated in other respects.

This is, of course, simply another way of saying that commerce has become universal, and that no country is so poor as not to have a share in it. With more than one its continuance is vital. The value of the stake which many countries would be called upon to hazard in the event of war is incalculable.

Though doubtless the world has grown better, and the moral sense of the people more acute, realizing more vividly the wicked foolishness of war, it must be admitted that self-interest is still the stronger factor. It is the self-interest, then, which nations, as well as individuals, have in maintaining a profitable commerce that must be depended upon chiefly to bring about "that consummation devoutly to be wished," when war

will be impossible for economic reasons, and boards of arbitration shall determine every international dispute.

It will, therefore, be profitable to examine more in detail the particular interest which each country has in maintaining commerce unmolested by armed strife, in order that we may thereby understand the premises from which the logical deduction cannot fail to be drawn, that as the commerce of the world continues to increase war between nations must also become increasingly difficult.

It is because of these compelling forces in Europe that immense standing armies are maintained, purely and simply that political jealousies shall not be permitted to lead to war and thereby destroy the commerce upon which the very existence of Europe depends.

The idea of revenge, for example, once so prominent in the French mind wherever Germany was concerned, is gradually becoming obliterated, as the commercial relations between France and Germany become more intimate. On the other hand, despite the anxiety with which the world viewed the presupposed disposition on the part of the German emperor toward the achievements of war, we find Germany more and more anxious to make every factor tell for the preservation of peace.

The commercial development since the Franco-Prussian war has been one of the startling chapters of the commercial history of the world. The prosperity which it has entailed is greater than Germany has ever known, and the recognition that this general prosperity has been made possible by the opportunities afforded for more intimate trade relations with all parts of the world brought with it the most intense desire to maintain the conditions which have made it possible and

which could not exist were the probability of war present.

Looked at from this point of view, Germany regards the enormous expenditure for the maintenance of her great standing army as a reasonable insurance premium for the preservation of peace. There is little doubt, too, that France looks upon the matter from the same point of view.

In fact, the strands of commerce are now so thoroughly interwoven that each country possesses a substantial share in the resulting fabric, and must be very hard pressed indeed before it will countenance any measure whose effect might be commercial isolation. Such isolation, while likely to result only in serious inconvenience to certain countries, would be practically fatal to others.

The country which is able, within its own borders, to grow its entire food supply, and to make all its essential requirements in manufactured merchandise, might, in the event of war, be dealt a severe blow through the cutting off of its foreign commerce, but would be able to survive. Such countries, for instance, are the United States and France. With these, while the interest in maintaining peace in order that commerce may not be interfered with, is a very lively one, it is not an all-controlling factor. With others the case is different.

While Germany is in this category, the most notable example is Great Britain. It is a country whose foreign commerce is absolutely essential, not only to its well-being, but to its actual existence. Were the export trade of over a billion annually cut off, the distress throughout the United Kingdom would be intense, since practically her entire exports consist of manufactured goods, in the preparation of which the great majority of her working people are engaged. On the other hand, since she imports practically all of her food sup-

plies, there would be nothing left her people but starvation should war cut off supplies.

Although in a somewhat minor and altered degree, the same conditions obtain in Germany, and indeed on the continent generally. In Germany the agricultural phase is rapidly disappearing and giving place to the industrial state. No longer able to supply her people with home-grown food, Germany must import it from other nations, and largely from the United States. Just as in the case of England, these imports must be paid for with the export of her factory products. There is thus a double reason for this maintenance of peace.

The tendency in countries where development is of more recent date is along similar lines. Either there is raw material to be sold or there are supplies which must be purchased abroad. In either event, peace is necessary in order that the machinery of commerce, which makes possible this buying and selling, may operate smoothly. This necessity with individual countries is, in fact, so overwhelming that it is difficult to conceive of their seriously considering war with countries sufficiently powerful to make possible the closing of the foreign market.

It is from this point of view that the position of the United States becomes of supreme importance to the commerce of the world. In the enormous total of our exports, which last year led those of every other nation, over two-thirds were food supplies. With the increasing necessity for commercial development, in order that increased population may have its wants satisfied, there must be progress towards a general agreement for the compulsory preservation of peace in order that the struggle for existence may be surrounded with the most favorable conditions possible.

There is a warrant in the history of commerce, and

particularly in the bright pages which have been written during the last half century, for the belief that both self-interest and a higher standard of human thought and endeavor, a more sympathetic feeling among the nations of men, will spread the gospel of peace and compel its more widespread acceptance. The time will come when commerce will be recognized throughout the universe as its guardian, and when under its ever-widening protectorate it shall be possible for the people of every nation to enjoy in fact the essential theory of our great republic,—Amid the arts of peace, “Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

WHY THE RUSKIN COLONY FAILED

H. C. MCDILL, M. D.

Prof. Huxley, in speaking of Joseph Cook's lectures on biology, suggests that an important defect consists of a "lack of knowledge at first hand." The same remark might apply to various other writers and lecturers, who honestly desire to enlighten the public, among whom may be classed the writer of "Failure of the Ruskin Colony," in the December GUNTON'S. Mr. Davis' article contains much truth well told, but also much error that a little knowledge at first hand would have prevented.

I was a member of that famous colony for six years, shared its ups and downs, and witnessed its final death with more sorrow and heartfelt regret than usually attends the end of an industrial enterprise. Never was an enterprise more honestly entered into, or more loyally supported through all its vicissitudes, than this same Ruskin colony, and never was more grit, ability and business management displayed than during the last three years of its existence.

Ruskin colony was an unusual organization from every point of view. Its members believed and *practiced* the theory that every one who does necessary work and does it well is entitled to the same pay and consideration as any other one who does necessary work and does it well. It was the only place where schooling was free, everything furnished and the pupil *paid* to attend; where you could get a shave for one cent and a hair cut for two cents; where the doctor whitewashed the shoemaker's house when he had no patients, and neither thought it strange or unfair; a place where there was no judge, no jail, no police, no rich, no poor,

no saloon, no church, and yet at the basis of this ideal organization were three fundamental errors: location, ignorance and a fatal charter.

Ignorance! How shall I describe it to give you an idea of its tremendous influence in our colony? By ignorance I do not mean the usual definitions that apply to the word, for we had authors, artists, doctors, editors and teachers among our members, while the rank and file, in intelligence, were way above the average. The ignorance complained of was lack of understanding the magnitude of our undertaking. All were of strong conviction and earnest natures, else they had not been there against the protest of every friend and relative, joining us under the influence of bright and beautiful theories. They insisted upon too high a standard in others; had too little patience with poor, weak human nature, with its long ages of training in competitive life. They seemed to think that adherence to a principle and residence in a colony ought to make angels of the members. This fault was the cause of more dissatisfaction and withdrawals than any other.

But the one fatal error in our organization and the one that wrecked us in Tennessee was our charter. It was the best and most liberal to be obtained in the state; but at its best it was only a capitalistic charter that legally provided for the making and distributing of dividends, with various concessions to promote the same. So long as harmony should prevail no trouble was apprehended, but when division threatened our ranks all of us realized its weakness, and many and anxious were the discussions as to how best to alter or amend it.

At the first meeting of the first board of directors a share of stock was voted to the wife of each charter member, *except one*. The reason given for this action was that the lady was late in joining her husband and

did not perform her share of the common duties; but this reason was unfounded, for this lady became one of our most active and enthusiastic workers. But out of this little act finally grew, with many ramifications, the evil that caused our downfall. The husband naturally resented this act of injustice; many of the members sided with him, and when I first came to the colony, in 1895, this matter was very much in evidence. But the stimulus of removal kept it in abeyance until the summer of 1897. In the meantime the assets of the colony had increased much in excess of the membership. The agitation to dispose of the surplus by voting a full share of stock to each member's wife broke out early in 1898, and from that time became a bone of contention. With the exception of a very few, the original charter members with a few new members were opposed to it, while the great bulk of new members favored it. All expressed themselves as favoring equal suffrage, the point aimed at. But some were not willing to issue stock, the only thing that made suffrage possible under our charter, and so matters stood through the summer, with factions slowly but surely forming. About this time anarchy and free-love doctrines began to be agitated in the colony, the charter members and their adherents largely favoring these doctrines, while new members bitterly opposed them. I do not think any of the advocates of these pernicious doctrines ever had any desire to graft them on the colony policy, but advocated and defended them solely on philosophic grounds.

Various plans were brought before the directors to equalize the injustice of a few women owning stock, by gift, while the rest were denied. Finally a motion was carried at a stockholders' meeting, our highest tribunal, to issue such stock. The next move by the majority was to abolish the two-thirds vote on membership and substitute majority rule. This was finally done, and

another motion "to issue stock to wives of members then on the grounds" went through, but stipulating that said stock should have no cash value, and two years' residence was required before application could be made. All this had taken time, and in December, when a number of our ladies were elected, eleven of the opposition secured an injunction to prevent the issue of said stock. The case came to trial and the injunction was dissolved and the stock issued. The enjoining members were brought to trial for refusing to abide by the majority rule, but again secured an injunction, and this time it stuck, the court holding that every citizen has an inalienable right to sue and be sued.

At this time a judgment on a case that had been in court for two years was given against the colony: amount \$1,620; \$500 was paid upon it the day it was rendered, and a distinct understanding had that the colony should have 60 days on the remainder. Imagine our surprise when, three days later, an officer came with instructions to attach our property and force payment. Two hours were given to find the money and there was but a few hundred in the treasury, but our members cheerfully went down into their "jeans" and the remaining \$1,120 was raised in 30 minutes. In all, nine injunctions and several civil suits marked the last month of 1898 and the beginning of 1899, ending in the first receiver May 22nd. All through this struggle and turmoil work went steadily on. Laziness was not a Ruskin failing. New industries were added and old ones enlarged. The inventory of 1898 showed \$72,000; that of 1899, \$94,000.

Steps were also taken and legal advice obtained for a change from a chartered to a trust organization, when, like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, came the announcement that a receiver had been appointed. The first knowledge we had of such steps being taken was

the appearance of the sheriff, May 22nd, to take possession, and he proceeded at once to close up all our industries. Of course, such a high-handed outrage only lasted until we had a chance to bring the facts before an intelligent judge, when the receiver was dismissed, after an eighteen-hour reign, and Ruskin went wild with joy. Again was a receiver asked for, and this time we were given a hearing, and here the fatal defects in our charter became manifest.

In running a public school, dining room, library, music, dancing and drawing classes, we had openly violated our charter and the judge, on strictly legal grounds, annulled it, and ordered the affairs of the colony wound up. The receiver took possession June 22nd, 1899, and at once locked up all our industries and tools, leaving 300 souls without means of support.

This was in the morning; by noon of that day thirteen of our young men were on their way, afoot, to Cumberland furnace, eighteen miles away. Here they found work cutting wood at 50 cents a cord. They secured a contract, sent for all idle members, and then began one of the grandest struggles of our colony existence. The work was hard and heavy; few had ever done anything of the kind. The pay was poor, 80 cents a day being a high wage. Yet Cumberland furnace became the post of honor, and every man able to stand the strain eagerly joined the band. From 20 to 35 men worked there steadily. From June 22nd to September 6th this band fed the entire colony out of their wages.

Immediately after the first receiver a meeting was called for the big cave to consider the plan submitted by our legal adviser for a change from a chartered to a covenant or trust organization. It was carefully considered and unanimously adopted. This covenant or trust *was still more socialistic* than the old association,

each member surrendering his or her share of stock, and merged all into a common fund.

Our officers at once took steps to wind up the Ruskin Cooperative Association, apportion the proceeds and reorganize under the trust plan as the Ruskin commonwealth. But before all the legal steps could be taken another receiver came, and the attempt was abandoned, as the wished-for result would come this way, though not so cheaply.

Now began a struggle that for business tact, judgment, energy and foresight has never been surpassed anywhere. The new organization had not a dollar in its treasury, was cut off from the outside world and our thousands of friends by our paper being taken from us; work closed down, our tools locked up, our hands practically tied. But the great mass of our members were of the right material, our leaders tried and true. At another meeting our incipient organization took shape and was properly officered. Money must be raised, plans perfected to buy back our homes, unity of action must be secured, the weak brother strengthened and the thoroughly discouraged one eliminated. It was an herculean task, requiring ability of the highest order, and we found it in these gentlemen. Loans were asked for from our members, and without a moment's hesitation money was advanced. Having already donated their stock they cheerfully gave their money. By this means we were able to get together about \$4,000 cash when the sale came, and had made arrangements with our neighbors to advance us \$10,500 to buy back our land and homes.

This is one of the pleasant recollections of that period, the friendship of our neighbors. When we first settled in the country they viewed us with suspicion, and it took nearly three years to live it down. But we did, and in time converted this distrust into earnest

friendship, that stood true through the sale and subsequent removal.

At last the day of sale came, July 26th; everything had been invoiced. Our committee knew what we must buy and how much money we had to buy it with. Real estate was the first offered for sale and upon this item turned our policy. If we bought it, much-needed personal property must be lost. The land was first offered in parcels. No bidders. Then it was offered as a whole; bidding began and slowly climbed up to and past our limit, \$10,500, and the sense of loss, of gloom, of rank injustice that settled over us will never be forgotten. *This meant removal*, the giving up of our homes and five years' hard labor. One by one we left the big cave thoroughly disheartened. Nothing more was sold that day. No crowd could be gathered. That night we again gathered in the big cave, men, women and children, to consult as to the wisest course. Had we better give up and scatter? The odds were so great. After much talk a motion: "*Resolved*, that we stand by Ruskin and each other," was carried with a cheer and without a dissenting voice. The Rubicon was passed. Despondency lessened, and from that time hesitation or vacillation vanished from our ranks, and when morning came the old-time vigor was in our blood and found all ready to battle for our personal property. Besides teams and farm implements we bought the library, 2000 volumes; "The Coming Nation" plant, our paper; but this, costing \$1,975, made a fearful hole in our cash. Then came saw-mill, cattle, garden, growing crops, coffee factory, tin shops, show shops, cabinet shops, wood-working machinery, etc., all bought at prices ranging from 10 to 20 cents on the dollar. These purchases used up our supply of cash, but we had our paper and felt hopeful. Within 36 hours after it came into our hands 25,000 copies were flying to our subscribers with a statement

of our affairs and our resolution. Answers came back as fast as steam could carry them, offering us sites, assistance and works of good cheer.

We knew that we could make it now; that our plan had been wise. Confidence increased and never left us again, though we were still in a position that might excuse failure. A new home to seek, winter coming on, 300 people to feed, clothe, house and move,—our living to earn through the unproductive months. It was not exactly a bright outlook, but our Cumberland furnace crew had taught us that all things are possible to earnest, industrious men, and we knew we had that kind.

About the first of August word came from a socialist colony in Georgia offering us their home, and they would become part of our organization upon our paying a small debt [\$3,000] then due upon the place. This site consisted of 800 acres, contained 80 houses, some cleared land with growing crops. All was included in the offer. It was represented as very fertile and healthy. Here was our chance in our hour of need. A committee is sent to spy out the land; they report favorably. Still another is sent; it confirms the report. Then the offer was accepted, and every energy bent to the task of removal. Every industry was run to full capacity. Our friends bought of us freely. Our subscription list grew wonderfully, many renewing for 5, 10, 20 and 25 years, a few going as high as 50 years. It was a spontaneous outburst of confidence in us, and, if I do say it, was fully deserved.

Our committee took hold of the transportation problem, making every effort to secure low rates, but a pool was on, and the best that could be done made freight and passenger fare come to nearly \$4,000, to say nothing of getting our goods, about 350 loads, to the depot at Tennessee City. This amount, added to the cash payment on the Georgia site (\$3,000), made

\$7,000 we must raise. On July 29th we had less than \$5,000 in the treasury. It seemed an almost hopeless task for a practically bankrupt organization; yet it was done, and the colony, with all its belongings, moved bodily, in one solid train, 613 miles to Georgia, landing on the new site September 16th, with 249 people and 15 carloads of freight. How was it done? I can hardly tell you. Everything we touched seemed to turn to money. Our friends bought lavishly. Our paper grew marvelously. The rest came principally from loans and wages from members. Anyhow, in fifty days we raised enough to pay for our site (\$3,000), moving expenses (\$3,960), and landed in Georgia with \$914 in the treasury. This may be the work of "little men and lazy," but, if it is, what could big, energetic men do?

I now come to that part of my story that I hate to write. Eighteen months of heroic endeavor and total failure. Men who ought to have been in bed dragged themselves to work day after day. Our low, flat island, on the edge of a swamp, caused sickness everywhere and frequent deaths. Crops a failure from wet weather or unusual frosts. Fire added to our misery, and so it went. A long, steady, up-hill fight without cessation and, after a few months, without hope. I doubt if there is another body of men in America who could do as well. We got behind with our bills, continued sickness made us fretful and peevish, fault-finding broke out afresh, the circulation of our paper fell off rapidly, the weaker members lost courage and began to withdraw. The belief that our land would fail us four years out of five became firmly rooted in our minds, and towards the last insubordination and refusal, *by a few*, to do the work assigned them, still further increased the discontent. An effort to move to a new site and still hold together was made, but by this time, September, 1900, we had lost unity of action. Still

another effort to move was made in December without effect, and then the "stayers," the people who made and built colonies, lost heart. A general exodus began, and by May all had scattered except a few disgruntled members, who held to the name but abandoned all the principles that had made Ruskin famous and worth all the toil and sacrifice given it. September 3, 1901, the sheriff sold the property of the colony from the court house steps in Waycross, Ga., the proceeds going to pay the debts.

In conclusion, I wish to say, that all through our seven years of colony life every care was given our children that was possible under our practically pioneer condition. Most of the time good schools were maintained, with kindergarten training for the little ones. Music, painting, drawing, athletics and dancing were taught in addition to the usual high school and primary course, by competent teachers, and the manners and conduct of our children would compare favorably with the same number of children anywhere. In no sense did they ever run wild like "the razorback." In no village in the United States was the sanctity of home or the duty of parents more closely observed. As to the dress of our people, it was, during working hours, much the same as other working people. Had Mr. Davis met our people at an entertainment or on Sunday he would have never used the word "slatternliness" in connection with us. We had no Lowells, Danas, Greeleys, Longfellows or Emersons with us. Neither did Brook Farm, except in embryo, but I will miss my guess badly if in twenty years equally famous names cannot be associated with Ruskin colony.

My own experience leads me to believe that a successful colony can and will be organized at no distant day. If the experience of Ruskin will help our brothers, its life and death will not have been in vain.

WHY ALL "RUSKIN COLONIES" FAIL

The problems met and not conquered by the Ruskin colony were in essence the problems of every similar socialistic experiment that has ever been undertaken. The causes of failure were for the most part the same in this enterprise as with its numerous predecessors. To analyze one, therefore, so far as really vital features are concerned, is practically to analyze all.

Mr. McDill's explanations of the Ruskin failure form an even more impressive indictment of the theory upon which the colony was organized than the various causes marshalled by Mr. Davis, in the article in our December number, to which the foregoing is a reply. Mr. Davis wrote as an avowed critic, but Mr. McDill defends the Ruskin experiment in the spirit of a devoted advocate. Having been a member of the colony and familiar with all its experiences, he has presumably said the best word that can be said for the Ruskin effort under all the varied circumstances of the colony's checkered career. We do not mean to imply that Mr. McDill exaggerates the favorable side of the Ruskin experience. His account bears the marks of evident sincerity, and a degree of moderation which only a socialist who has "been there" is ever known to exhibit. The kind who never concede a possible defect in the socialistic theory or program are those who have worked out these Ruskin experiments in the editorial offices of some "advanced thought" newspaper, rather than in the fields and woods of Tennessee and Georgia, with fallible human beings instead of obedient pen and paper for raw material. So far, at least, as the moral to be drawn from Mr. McDill's account is concerned, full faith and credence may be given to his narrative without in any manner destroying Mr. Davis' contention

that Ruskin, like all similar experiments that have ever been tried, was foredoomed to failure, in the nature of the case. Containing the seeds of disintegration from the start, collapse was written in advance at the end of the chapter.

The same forces that brought failure through the particular methods Mr. McDill describes would just as surely have brought it in other ways in the process of time, even if the charter had proved invulnerable in Tennessee, or the new site productive and salubrious in Georgia.

We refrain from arguing at any length the question whether a social system under which you can "get a shave for one cent and a hair-cut for two cents," and where "the doctor whitewashes the shoemaker's house when he has no patients," is the ideal one. If it is, then we must turn our faces backward instead of forward, because it is only in the simplest and crudest stages of industrial and social life that any such conditions are ever possible on any general scale. With the increasing specialization of functions and sub-division of effort, by which all the grandest products of civilization, material, intellectual and spiritual, have been made possible, the "Swiss-Family-Robinson" type of industrial life fades out of the practical possibilities. It belongs to the childhood of the race, possessing certain elements of fascination, indeed, to which at times men like to revert, very much as the average city business man enjoys going back to the old farm and fishing in the same old stream; but his real life, his opportunities, all his hopes of progress and his chief sources of happiness, are elsewhere, and he is not long in returning. His instinct is the same as the instinct of the human race, which has taken it steadily away from the simple, uniform, quasi-communistic type of life sought to be re-established at Ruskin. Civilized peo-

ples—not individuals but peoples—might return to these primitive conditions as a last resort, under pressure of necessity, but hardly otherwise.

The point at issue just now, however, in the case of Ruskin, is not so much the merits of its "bright and beautiful theories" of social life as the causes of their failure. Ruskin was a colony of picked men and women; most of them went into it fired with enthusiasm for the grand "new era," and determined to make it a practical demonstration to the world, in a small way, of the socialistic millennium that was bound to come. Right or wrong, they had the spirit of the religious zealot; but, for that matter, the degree of fervent zeal shown in support of any given cause has never yet been good evidence of either its righteousness or soundness. Some of the most fanciful, and likewise some of the most hideous, movements recorded in history have been prosecuted with a holy enthusiasm that could hardly have been surpassed if the deluded zealots had actually read their orders in letters of fire across the sky. The bloody conquests of the Mohammedans, the Spanish inquisition, the witchcraft extermination and persecution of Quakers, the defense of slavery in this country, ending in civil war—and, of another sort, the pitiful "children's crusade," the Fourier movement, the Mormon propaganda, the Millerite and numberless other second-advent crazes, the greenback and free silver agitations,—are among the incidents that come to mind haphazard, illustrating the old folly of assuming that a cause is necessarily wise or right because of the consecrated devotion of its followers.

But in the case of Ruskin the significant thing is that even with this picked community to begin with—the kind who are willing to be martyrs rather than retreat,—failure came. It was not a case of having to take an average settled community of people *as they are*, through-

out the length and breadth of the land, and there deal with commonplace and non-idealistic people, in much larger measure, alas! than the wise and high-minded;—having to reconcile the selfish, the lazy, the grasping, the "look out for number one" kind, with whom an immediate personal advantage is always the most powerful motive (and Oh, what an army of these!)—the suspicious, the jealous, the prejudiced, and—most unmanageable of all—the great throngs who are firmly addicted to standards and habits of living that could not possibly be merged on any basis of uniformity with other groups of altogether different customs, ideas and training. The Ruskin colonists, we repeat, did not have to experiment with this kind of an average community, as universal socialism would have to do. On the contrary, Mr. McDill says that Ruskin included "authors, artists, doctors, editors and teachers . . . while the rank and file, in intelligence, were way above the average." Even with this high standard of character the colony failed.

Mr. McDill ascribes the outcome to ignorance,—failure to understand the magnitude of the undertaking. This is like explaining the cause of drowning as getting into too deep water,—obviously true, but not necessarily proving that other men might safely jump overboard in mid-ocean if only they understood how deep the water was. The real causes of failure are to be found simply in the natural outworkings of human nature; differences of desires and opinions in each individual case, differences as fundamental as the fact that no two human beings ever were or ever will be alike or can be dealt with alike. Lack of "patience with poor, weak human nature," Mr. McDill mentions. Exactly. Disputes over the division of income. Assuredly. Growth of "anarchy and free love doctrines." Quite likely; or, if not these,

then others equally disturbing to any pre-arranged plan where success depends on harmony of beliefs, obliteration of self-interest, and a degree of patience and consideration and long-suffering seldom associated with any stage of existence this side the angelic. The growth of these undesirable features may be charged to ignorance if the description satisfies Mr. McDill any better, but merely to give them a name does not in any way alter the fact that they were unavoidable products of human nature, of the kind that always bring failure to experiments like Ruskin. Laziness may or may not have been among these causes. Mr. McDill says there was no laziness, at first at any rate, and this is easy to believe; but it is equally among the natural things that towards the last failure was hastened by "insubordination and refusal *by a few* to do the work assigned them."

Under the private industry system, these conflicts of interests, differences of habits and ideas, shortcomings of character, and so on, chiefly affect the relations between individuals rather than between individuals and the state, and are either adjusted privately, or by appealing to the courts as arbiter, or settled by voluntary action in the various social and industrial groups, while the general social system moves on with even keel. But under socialism these safety valves are absent and the steam is all turned back into the boiler. The state has to stand responsible for practically everything there is. The cumulative force of all the disputes, complaints, dissatisfactions and ill-feeling, which in the other case are dissipated and adjusted throughout the community, is here directed against the central authority, the sole manager and harmonizer, which must provide the remedy for whatever goes amiss. Something of this feature developed even with the superior group of colonists at Ruskin, but when we imagine a similar experi-

ment applied to the complex conditions and infinitely diverse population of an entire nation, the very suggestion of feasibility vanishes into the mists of fantasy.

The trouble in Tennessee was with the charter, but the attacks on the charter came from within the colony, not without. Outsiders in the main were friendly, but within various dissensions arose, which Mr. McDill describes; and the method of reprisal or revenge sought by the disappointed and dissatisfied was through the charter, and they finally succeeded. Mr. McDill seems to believe that if the charter had been impregnable all would have been well. Did he ever know of a case where screwing down a safety valve prevented the blowing up of a boiler? The fact is, with dissensions once under way, one of two things was certain to happen in the Ruskin colony, even with a perfect charter, —either arbitrary suppression of the minority by the majority, forcing the malcontents to obey the community laws, labor under the community orders, and accept the community's division of product, or else the disgruntled would have found some other means than loopholes in the charter to break up the colony. Failing to accomplish this from the inside, they could have withdrawn and become enemies of the institution from the outside, reducing its membership, suing for money and labor contributed, warning intending new members of the coercive and unfair treatment they might expect, and what not; and so bringing about through external corrosion what they perhaps could not by internal explosion.

Possibly Mr. McDill would suggest that under universal socialism such members could not withdraw, as there would be no place for them to withdraw to; and that is quite true (excepting always the possibility of future airship communication with the moon!)—only, if they could not leave, the alternative to being coerced

would be a revolutionary uprising of the dissatisfied minority against the whole system. The coercion necessary to preserve the system must be of the most rigorous kind, applying to choice of labor, amount of compensation, conditions of work, conditions of living, and even to the expression of political opinions—the latter because the newspapers, being conducted by the government, could not serve as the people's mouthpiece of protest or exposure or condemnation of the conduct of government. The various complicated bureaus of a socialistic system would have to command implicit obedience, and hence undisturbed popular confidence, in order to succeed at all. Woe, then, to the disturber, or else woe to the system. Imagine an arbitrary labor assignment or decree by one of the industrial bureaus under state socialism, with a *New York Journal* free to advocate disobedience or start an uprising against it!

When the Ruskin colony went to Georgia its failure there was due to poor location. It was on a "low, flat island, on the edge of a swamp," where, through sickness, deaths and crop failures, it finally drifted into bankruptcy, the members scattered and the remnants of property were sold by the sheriff. Yet this site was selected after careful examination by two committees sent from Tennessee. Could this have been one of the incidents Mr. McDill had in mind in his enthusiastic declaration that "never was more grit, ability and *business management* [italics ours] displayed than during the last three years of its existence,"—during which time the change to this Georgia site was decided upon? We have no desire to indulge in unkind sarcasm, but the simple fact is that this experience makes one of two things sharply clear: either that the kind of business management a socialistic community brings to the front is inadequate to the decision of vital industrial problems, or else that such a community could only live under the

most favorable natural conditions, such as the first location in Tennessee afforded. If human beings had been accustomed to living on the Georgia site at all, the inference from the Ruskinites' failure is that only individual enterprise is adequate to get along with inferior industrial opportunities. The colonists could not do it, even with land, houses and tools paid for, surplus in the treasury, and a class of people "way above the average" to begin operations.

Ruskin, of course, was not a conclusive object-lesson either for or against socialism. It was hardly more than an interesting contribution to the body of knowledge and theory on the whole subject, but whatever significance it has cannot yield much encouragement to the propaganda of state socialism. An industrial system which can only live where dissensions do not arise, where legal obstacles are never met, where mistakes of judgment never bring penalties, where climate and natural situation are never adverse, where sickness, death and failures of various kinds never dishearten the workers or induce them to give up the struggle, may possibly be realized in some happy distant day when

—"good shall fall,

"At last,—far off,—at last to all,

"And every winter change to spring."

but is ill-adapted to an embryonic state of civilization like the present, in which not even picked companies of superior men and women, working "under the influence of bright and beautiful theories," have been able after repeated efforts to dwell together in unity or come to any happier ending than bankruptcy and vain regrets.

HOW TO EDUCATE THE INDIANS

ELLA H. COOPER

The commissioner of Indian affairs pronounces the attempt at civilizing the Indians through the education of the young at government schools a decided failure. Forty-five millions of dollars have been expended, and the results cannot be regarded as commensurate with the outlay. He seems surprised that Indian children, educated by the government, "removed from poverty to affluence, should so quickly lapse into barbarism on their return to their reservations." Does not the failure of this method emphasize its inherent weakness, and demonstrate the fact that habits and modes of life acquired under certain conditions can only be retained while those conditions are the same?

The civilization grafted on a savage differs from that which has resulted from the natural action of evolution in that it implies the omission of many intermediate steps, and consequently cannot bend or adapt itself to varying conditions. The knowledge of how to live, acquired through familiarity with modern homes and their appliances, is not transferable from a government school to a shanty or tent on a reservation. The pupils cannot continue to do as they did while at school and are unable to exercise that high faculty of modification of ideas to meet changes of environment. If they cannot continue in the way newly learned, they know but one other way, and that to return to the old way of living, which indeed is for them the only practicable one. The love of civilized methods is not sufficiently strong to cause them to combat successfully the overwhelming tide of savagery that surrounds

them, and it would seem as if a very moderate amount of intelligent study of the subject might have anticipated a result so inevitable.

It is wasted effort to provide an Indian with comfortable clothing for a number of years, and then turn him loose on a reservation, supply him with an annual blanket and expect him to dress henceforth as a gentleman. Nor can he be blamed if, after being taught the advantages of the bath in a well appointed bathroom, he fails to see the connection between such a luxury and the cleansing process as practicable in the forest with ice and snow, bitter winds and storms. The fact is, the gap between the conditions is too wide, and a more rational system of education should be substituted for the ineffectual and impracticable one at present maintained.

Something in the nature of reservation settlements might be instituted, where intelligent white teachers might establish homes under conditions similar to those the Indian must meet. Their construction and furnishing should not imply the use of tools or materials unavailable for the Indian himself, nor should aught in the daily life be attempted other than could readily be achieved by him. These homes would be in reality ideals, that with patience and labor were attainable for all,—not model government schools impossible of realization, and therefore useless, serving only to disqualify for hardships inevitable among a poor and ignorant people. The government need not abandon its "wards," but neither should it pamper them into an idle effeminacy and then force them to return to poverty and want.

The occupations congenial to white men can never be successfully undertaken by the savage, but there are tasks to which he is adapted and at which he could earn a comfortable support. The work of the ranchman and

the "cowboy" could well be relegated to the Indian, and the white men at present engaged in these occupations could turn their attention to more intellectual employment. It would not be necessary to pauperize our Indians if our government saw to it that suitable and lucrative employment were assured them. With cattle raising as an occupation, with model homes as object lessons, with schools where reading and writing and the primitive trades were taught, the Indians, while not expected to compete with the old civilization in the intellectual field, might well live out their own lives on natural lines and without injury to their neighbors of another race.

The problem of finding occupations for our American Indians that would be at once congenial and lucrative has never been successfully solved. They have been placed at tasks for which they have no natural aptitude, and forced into competition with the skilled labor of alien races, while the arts in which they excelled were neglected. In basketry, the most ancient of arts, their work cannot be surpassed, yet we are told that it is fast taking its place among the lost and forgotten handicrafts. Had this industry been favored by protective legislation, it would have furnished remunerative employment for the Indian men and women when not otherwise occupied. A tariff that would have checked the influx of Japanese work competing in the same line would have reserved this home market for our own aborigines. The sweet grasses, the quills and feathers, the birch bark and beads, all the materials which the Indian has appropriated and used with peculiar and fascinating effect, should be left in his skilful hands, and encouragement and guidance in the marketing of his wares should not be lacking. The hands that weave the baskets can braid hats as well; the sweet grasses that blend in the

dainty fan would be no less effective in rustic outing hats. Bead portieres could be strung by Indians as well as by Asiatics, and our homes could be beautified by the labors and genius of those we have supplanted in this land.

But the education must be given on the reservation, not in distant schools, and be freely offered to men, women and children alike. The government would have but little to do but to protect these model homes and schools, guard the Indians from intoxicating liquors, and assist them in securing and retaining a legitimate market for their wares.

[At least one of the suggestions made in this article has already entered the field of popular agitation. A meeting was held at St. George's Church, New York city, on February 19th, for the express purpose of considering ways and means to preserve the ancient art of basketry among certain tribes of Indians.

The value and beauty of many of the native Indian products is scarcely realized at this day, but it is to be hoped that the new discussion of the subject will develop a real appreciation of these unique arts and a serious effort to preserve them from extinction. The effort is abundantly worth while, not only because of the intrinsic artistic merits of many of these products, but especially because it leads towards some practical method of furnishing wholesome occupation to the Indian wards of the nation. There is no reason why, with proper encouragement to useful native arts, they should not become important factors in the industrial life of the nation, along lines which would most naturally bring them into self-respecting relations with the white man's industries and markets, and so lead gradually to permanent assimilation of many of the better influences of the civilization surrounding them.]

THE VALUE OF BY-PRODUCTS

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH

The utilization of by-products is a source of wealth today that has made many a millionaire and revolutionized many an industry. Going upon the generally-accepted theory that there is no loss in nature, the chemist and scientist proceed to experiment with all sorts of products to discover some new useful article that will either make his fortune or benefit mankind.

In the industrial world the experimental chemist has become a mighty factor. It is estimated that he has added more to the world's actual wealth in the past ten years than any other class of workers or experimenters. Industrial chemistry has become a legitimate branch of trade, and there are connected with nearly every line of industry experimental chemists, who are working toward the perfection or development of that particular field. Many of the most progressive industrial firms employ their own chemists, paying them handsome salaries simply for the purpose of making investigations and experiments which will tend to reduce the cost of production, and incidentally make further use of the by-products. In the iron and steel industry scores of expert chemists are constantly laboring, not only to perfect the manufacture of steel, but to find some more profitable way of using the by-products.

Nearly every one is familiar with the discovery of the method of turning the waste cotton-seeds of the great southern crop into oil. Indeed, the value of the cotton-seed oil and the cotton-seed cakes—which are made from the residuum after the oil has been extracted, and then fed to cattle—frequently proves greater than the cotton, and for years, when cotton was selling for five

and six cents a pound, nothing but the utilization of the cotton-seed waste saved the industry from bankruptcy. Many a cotton grower secured enough extra for the cotton seeds just to make both ends meet. The seed of the cotton is collected when the balls pass through the gin. The lint is stripped from the seed, and the shell which encloses the seed removed. Machinery is at hand for grinding the seeds and extracting the oil, which is used in various ways in the trades, some even being highly refined and sold as good imitation olive oil. It is used most extensively in the manufacture of soap and for oiling machinery. After the oil was extracted it was found that the pulpy mass left could be further utilized by feeding it to cattle. Then the lint and shells of the seeds were studied. After a few years of experiment the lint was found to be serviceable in the manufacture of felt and certain grades of paper, while the shells could be ground for cattle food or used for fuel. Altogether, nearly all the cotton crop is thus utilized in some way, and waste has been almost entirely eliminated. Thus, within a few years, experimental chemistry or industrial chemistry have added millions to the value of our cotton crop.

The corn crop is another fertile field for experiments, and industrial chemists are working diligently in this field. There have been a dozen different announcements made that cornstalks would soon be employed in manufacturing almost everything from street pavements up to car wheels. It is a fact, however, that the stalks can be made into a certain grade of coarse wrapping paper, and, by a system of steaming, grinding and pressing, a sort of wood-pulp material is obtained, which can be utilized in various ways. There have been found different uses for different parts of the stalks. Thus the pith is sometimes extracted and used in the electric light business, and the long leaves have

been cut into strips and converted into twine. At present, however, the complete and most profitable utilization of the cornstalks has not been discovered, and, while a good many of them are ground up for cattle food, the waste is still enormous.

In regard to the grain, however, there is a better story to tell. While chemists and cooking experts have found some dozen different ways to prepare corn foods, such as samp, hominy and flaked corn, the consumption of the crop can be increased still further by the application of knowledge already possessed. A great, thriving glucose manufacturing industry has been built up in recent years by the industrial chemists, who found that the corn grain had a tiny germ which was formerly thrown away before the starch was ground up. This germ is rich in oil, and the oil manufactured from it is worth four or five millions a year. The gluten left in the cake after the oil is extracted can be utilized for varnish manufacture, and a considerable trade in this has been built up.

The oil and sugar industries probably best represent the value of chemistry applied to the solution of trade problems, and the manufacturers of these important commodities have made millions of dollars in this way. One of the secrets of the Standard Oil Company has been the shrewd way in which it has refined and re-refined the oil products until it has opened a dozen different industries to help swell the profits. Originally it was only the petroleum that was utilized, and all the rest was wasted. The waste by-products were so enormous that chemists were early employed to find some way to use them in the trades and industries. An elaborate process of refining has been built up so that oils for almost all imaginable uses are extracted and prepared. It is from these processes that we get paraffine, soft paraffine or vaseline, lubricating and fuel oils, axle grease

and carbon sticks for electric lighting. The Standard Oil Company keeps steadily in its employ some of the best expert industrial chemists of the country for the purpose of finding out new ways of using their products, and to discover even more profitable ways of utilizing the by-products. It is by no means even probable that the ultimate limit of discovery in the oil industry has been made. Indeed, chemists still believe that they will yet succeed in extracting from the oil a higher refined element for illumination than anything in use today, thus enabling them to produce a light that will rival in power and brilliancy the electric light, at a much less cost. Another fruitful field of investigation in this line is that of utilizing the oil for fuel. Chemists who labor in this department of human endeavor believe that liquid fuel is the fuel of the near future, and that this must come from some improved or refined kind of mineral oil whose combustion will be higher than any in use today.

Chemistry has been applied to the sugar industry with equally gratifying results, and no one who has not studied the question can imagine how much he is indebted to the chemist for the cheapening and refining of this sweet product. The world's production and consumption of sugar today is about 8,250,000 tons. Formerly the world's supply was derived entirely from the sugar cane crop; but today two-thirds of all the sugar used comes from the sugar beets. It was the industrial chemist who found how to utilize the crop of sugar beets, which for years were of little importance to the farmer or the industrial world. The high percentage of sugar in some of the beets stimulated the experts to make experiments, and it was proved that it was merely a question of extracting and manufacturing the sugar from the beets to build up a great industry. So from one step to another the industry advanced, the

chemist ever standing ready to make improvements upon methods which seemed to produce too great an amount of waste. From the latest reports it is said that within a few years the United States will probably be able to manufacture some \$100,000,000 worth of sugar entirely from beets.

In the early manufacture of beet sugar the molasses was considered an entire waste, and there was no known method of utilizing it. Unlike the molasses from the sugar cane, it was bitter and unpleasant to the taste. There was a strong alkali in this molasses, and a large percentage of waste sugar, which nothing could seem to free from the liquid. It was disposed of finally by mixing dry lime with it, which separated the sugar from all other substance in the mass, and then by a further chemical process the lime and sugar were separated. The result was that nearly all of the sugar was obtained from the molasses, increasing the value of the beets nearly forty per cent., while the small quantity of molasses left was utilized for artificial fermentation of alcohols and liquors.

In medicine and in the dyeing industry chemistry has introduced factors in recent years that can hardly be measured in their benefits to the human race, because the results cannot always be expressed in dollars and cents. The group of dyes and medicines which have been derived from coal tar, and which are generally spoken of as "the coal-tar products," show the great intrinsic worth that may be inherent in so-called by-products. In gas manufacture fully five per cent. of the coal used was always wasted in the form of coal tar. There was apparently no use for this by-product until chemists began to analyze and experiment in different ways with it. Then it developed that this waste residue of the gas plant contained valuable substances for manufacturing aniline colors. In using the

coal or wood for gas manufacturing there is what is called dry distillation, which extracts all such impurities as ammonia, acetic acid, carbolic acid, and other compounds. All these elements are of great commercial value, and today they are utilized in some way, although formerly wasted. The chemical color industry involves millions of dollars of capital, but so does the manufacture of the coal tar medicines and chemicals, such as antipyrine, antifebrine, salol, and similar articles. One industry in this way always stimulates another, and sometimes entirely new ones are called into existence. In the aniline color industry dozens of other discoveries have been made recently as an indirect result of this new process of producing colors that do not fade.

The application of chemistry to mining is fully as remarkable as in any industry, and there are still opportunities in this direction scarcely measured. There are precious metals in nearly all rocks around us, but it has always been the cost of extracting and putting them in commercial form that has prevented their more general exploitation. The rocks and crushed stone that the early miners and mills threw away as waste are to-day being worked over by the new process methods of extracting gold from the rocks. Millions of dollars of gold that had to be counted as waste by-products of the gold-refining mills are being reclaimed by the low-grade ore processes which chemists have discovered. Thus the immense heaps of tailings are no longer waste by-products, but valuable assets for the gold mining companies. In the past year more gold has been extracted from these piles of waste heaps than from new gold mines in this country, with the exception of those in Alaska and the Klondike.

DEATH OF REV. CHARLES H. EATON

In the death of the Rev. Charles H. Eaton, D.D., pastor of the Church of the Divine Paternity, New York city, the cause of liberal thought and social progress has lost an eloquent advocate and a devoted helper. Dr. Eaton was in many respects exceptional, both as a man and a clergyman. He was a sweet personality, entirely free from every element of pharisaism, always optimistic, cordial and helpful. No cause of social improvement or amelioration failed to get from him a cordial response. He was always keenly interested in the cause of labor, and took unusual pains, for a minister, to be correctly informed on current social and industrial questions, that he might keep sane on important public affairs. As a pulpit orator Dr. Eaton was a great success. He would discourse eloquently without notes, without ever breaking a sentence, violating the king's English, or putting a climax in the wrong place. In this respect he was extraordinary among the pulpit orators of the metropolis. He made his church something more than a mere vehicle for dispensing religious dogma or theological tenets, but devoted his Sunday services largely to subjects of practical human interest, present as well as future. For two years he had courses of lectures delivered in his church on social economics, and from that time became an active student and promoter of the work of the Institute of Social Economics, and was a member of its Board of Trustees at his death.

In all his lectures on public affairs he had a peculiar faculty of combining the spirit of freedom and democracy with social improvement and economic justice. He never made the mistake of confounding paternal help with enlarged opportunity. He was one of the few ministers who insisted that the preacher

should know, at least on the subjects he talked on, as much as the pews. In the latter years his efforts in this direction became a larger and larger portion of his public work.

Dr. Eaton was born in Beverly, Mass., and was educated and prepared for the ministry and public work as the protege of Eben Draper, of Hopedale, Mass., the father of General Draper, head of the firm of Draper & Sons, the immense machine manufacturers, who have made Hopedale one of the most prosperous and beautiful industrial villages in America. The elder Draper was one of the original cooperative community which, under the leadership of Aden Ballou, settled in Hopedale; but in that, as in all other such experiments, the socialistic feature was a failure, and the capitalistic feature became necessary to save the town and perpetuate the business. But the spirit of democracy, social equality and improvement which inspired the community experiment characterized the life of Mr. Draper, both in business and citizenship; and one of the products of his well-directed munificence was the Rev. Dr. Eaton.

Dr. Eaton married a niece of George M. Pullman, and was a personal friend of Mr. Carnegie, having been his guest with James G. Blaine in a coaching tour through England. Notwithstanding these close relations to men of immense wealth, each of whom had such painful experiences with organized labor in the Pullman and Homestead strikes, Dr. Eaton never faltered in the least in his liberal, judicious and sane defence of the laborers' right and duty to organize, despite the fact that they sometimes make mistakes. He was never physically robust, but despite this was always cheery, encouraging, helpful, and in the front rank of social movements for political righteousness, civic reform, and larger industrial welfare.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

AT A RECENT conclave to devise ways and means for rehabilitating the democratic party on non-Bryan lines, David Bennett Hill of New York advocated, as a platform to win with, "Thomas Jefferson." As if Bryan could not beat Hill ten to one in quoting Jefferson! Besides, he has an advantage that Hill never possessed, that he quotes Lincoln also.

AT A RECENT dinner of the Virginia democratic association Colonel Watterson declared himself against a "government of the trusts for the trusts and by the trusts," with as much furiousness as if he were getting off a new alliteration, or saying something sensible. In order further to show his exceptional insight, he charged President Roosevelt with working to set himself up as a military dictator, who, while "affecting the simplicity of the cowboy, conceals beneath the self-confidence and queer manners of a bronco-buster the sentiments and crudeness if not the talents of a Diaz." The brashness of all this registers the political calibre of the *passe* Kentucky colonel-editor.

THE ST. LOUIS Transit Company has just issued a notice officially announcing that hereafter motormen and conductors in its employ will not be discharged on account of old age, but will be given other places, such as watchman, switchman, and other easy positions, without any reduction of pay. This is a significant step in the right direction. It shows that it has hitherto been the custom of the corporation to discharge men on account of old age, and it also shows that the growing public opinion that this practice is inequitable and not always to be endured is being recognized by

large corporations. This may be one of the lessons the St. Louis Transit Company learned out of the terrific strike it passed through nearly two years ago. Of course the only proper method of dealing with this subject is a national system of old-age insurance, but in the meantime every corporation which recognizes the situation to the extent of continuing to pay full wages, even though relegating the men to inferior positions, or attempts any system of pensions, is contributing to that end by preparing their own class and the public for adopting the insurance system.

THE NEW YORK *Times* and *Evening Post* are nearly as much troubled over the appointment of General James S. Clarkson as surveyor of customs at the port of New York as they are over Mr. Oxnard's objection to the slaughter of the beet-sugar industry. The serious charge against General Clarkson appears to be that he is a good republican, an intelligent protectionist, hails from Iowa, and has not become a millionaire. If Mr. Clarkson had become very rich, that probably would have been urged against him as a proof of his dishonesty. If he had been prominent in New York politics, that would have been an objection on the ground that he was Plattized. The simple truth of the matter is that General Clarkson is not a mere yawping politician but a man of real brains and philosophic conception of the principles of public policy. He has lived several years in New York but has not been associated with any of the discreditable methods of the republican organization. From every conceivable point of view he is the superior of his predecessor in office; he is, indeed, a man of truly national proportions. There is no office from the presidency down that General Clarkson could not fill with credit to himself and honor to the country.

THE *Manufacturers' Record* has a stereotyped reply for all who think the condition of the southern factory operatives is not ideal: namely, None of your business. It gives a three-column review of the article in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for April on the "Evils of Southern Factory Life," by the Rev. Jesse Armon Baldwin, and concludes by saying: "It would be better for all persons concerned to leave the solution of problems affecting labor interests in the South to southern labor and southern capital." As if the Rev. Mr. Baldwin, who is a minister in Charlotte, N. C., was not a southerner. The town in which the Rev. Mr. Baldwin lives is one of the large cotton manufacturing places in the South, so that it is quite likely he knows a great deal more about the actual conditions of factory life than the editor of the *Record*, who lives in Baltimore and may never have been inside of a southern factory tenement, such as we saw in Charlotte, N. C., and in Atlanta and Columbus, Ga. The *Record* seems to act upon the assumption that everybody who sees these evils, for evils they are, is a northerner. So, with the old ante-bellum spirit, it says: None of your business; but if a clergyman whose parish is in the very center of factory life in the South is not permitted to call attention to these things, then, pray, who is?

THE GENERAL charge that the administration is using the coercive rod over congressmen to compel support of the cut in the tariff for Cuba is being verified from many sources. Significant testimony in this direction was given by Congressman Cushman, from Washington, when he announced on the floor of the house that no member can get consideration for a bill he introduces unless he obeys the speaker, and added:

"I am in a personal position and in a peculiarly happy frame of mind right now to give a little valuable testimony on that point. . . .

All the glory that clustered around the holy of holies in King Solomon's temple looked like thirty cents . . . compared with that jobbing department of this government."

It is not surprising that this should act as a bomb-shell in exposing the methods the administration is using to coerce congressmen into the support of a bill which they really disapprove. The truth of Mr. Cushman's remark is sustained by a private letter just received from a congressman who says he knows of seventy-five republican members of the house who are heartily opposed to it, and cites the case of one member whom "the leaders of the house warned that he might jeopardize his future prospects if he exercised the right of voting against the bill." If this "cut in the tariff" leads to a business-disturbing campaign, as it is not unlikely to do, the administration alone will be responsible.

THE HON. William G. Brantley, of Georgia, is receiving special praise for having set the correct pace for the democratic party in congress. In its ecstasy, in a brief but pronounced editorial, the *New York Times* says:

"We extend to Hon. William G. Brantley, of Georgia, our sincere congratulations. His speech in the house of representatives on Monday was worthy of the best period of democracy. . . . He declared his intention of supporting the Cuban reciprocity bill, because it contained *a cut in the tariff*—a small cut, only 20 per cent., and for trade with only one not very large country, but *a cut nevertheless*. . . . This is exactly the line adopted by our own representative, Mr. McClellan. It is the line that must be adopted by the party if it hopes to accomplish anything." (Italics ours.)

This tells the whole story of the free traders' anxiety about "poor Cuba" and their praise of the "administration policy." It is not Cuba they care for but a "cut in the tariff." The purpose of their policy, though it is not always so frankly declared, is to "cut" anything that helps American industries. If it is necessary

to sympathize with Cuba and sneer at American enterprise, then that must be done if it will promote the "cut." Never mind who bleeds, only cut. That is exactly as it was in 1892. It was so glorious to cut that bankruptcies, enforced idleness and soup kitchens were mere incidents. It was selfish, vulgar greed to protect industries for the sake of anything so ignoble as getting prosperity. Whenever these people rejoice and compliment the administration on this subject, we may look for cutting American industry somewhere.

IN THE *International Monthly*, "Trusts, Trade Unions, and the National Minimum" is discussed by Mr. Sidney Webb. Mr. Webb is the author of one of the best histories of trade-unionism that has been written. He is a Fabian socialist and one of the ablest writers on labor matters in Europe. On this account this article from his pen is the more significant, since it rises altogether above the plane of trade-union discussion which sees nothing but oppression to labor and robbery of the public in large combinations of capital. Mr. Webb sees none of these evils as necessarily connected with large corporations. On the contrary, he sees that their great profits cannot be the result of higher prices, but must in the main come from the greater economies they introduce into business. On this point he says:

"The monopolist trust, even in countries that freely open their ports to foreign products, can no doubt make large profits. But its profits will represent chiefly the economies in production brought about by its own formation. The consumer will not have to pay more than the consumer of the same article in countries not subject to the trust, except by the amount of the freight, and probably, as we shall see, not even by so much as that. . . . The competent, 'pushful,' native-born American will get on all right under this capitalist autocracy. He will, indeed, have to give up the chance of becoming his own master, and, practically, that of 'making a pile'; but what will be virtually the civil service of industry, the great salaried hierarchy of the trusts, will offer a safer and, on the average, a better paid career for industrial talent

than the old chances of the market. Every man of skill and energy, competence and 'go,' will be wanted in the gigantic organization of the new industry. Brains will be at a premium. From the skilled mechanic right up to the highest engineering genius, from the competent foreman up to the brightest railroad organizer, from the merely practiced chemist up to the heaven-born inventor or designer,—all will find, not merely employment, but scope for their whole talent, not merely remuneration, but salaries such as the world has seldom seen. And in serving their employers they will be at least as directly serving the community as they are at present."

This is a rational and thoroughly economic view of the subject. It is strictly consistent with all experience in the growth of large concerns, and thoroughly in line with all the forces that make for social progress. Mr. Webb's article is also significant as an evidence that the thinkers and leaders in the trade-union movement are gradually rising to an economic view of the subject. Instead of fighting large corporations, they are beginning intelligently to recognize that these are but a part of the general progress of society, like their own organization, and that they are indispensable to the larger production which alone can permanently make possible higher wages and short hours consistently with low prices.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

QUESTION BOX

Is Trade-unionism Socialistic ?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you not think that the excessive zeal of the trade union spirit is producing an effect among the working classes similar to what we should have under socialism for the whole community; that is, in establishing a uniform dead level of productiveness and income and suppressing all individual excellence?

W. G. N.

No, because the workingmen are constantly struggling in their separate trades for higher wages and better conditions. Under the trade union experience there has been no tendency to a dead level. If there had there could not have been such a constant procession of advances in wages, beginning with the organized industries and ultimately extending throughout practically all industries. There is a tendency to uniformity in a given industry in the same locality, but that uniformity is not due to trade unions; it is due to the factory system. If you take the operatives working under factory conditions, where there are no unions at all, the uniformity will be just as great, but the tendency to break it for a higher level of uniformity will be less frequent.

There is no reason why, under the trade union influence, intelligently conducted, individual excellence should be either suppressed or checked. This notion

that every laborer can become a capitalist is about as true as that every boy can become president of the United States, or every student be the head of his class. It is simply nonsense, and the more intelligent laborers have finally come to know it. They have learned that their progress does not consist in each man trying to outdo his fellow-worker at the bench, but rather in each man inspiring his fellow-worker to cooperate with him in obtaining a higher standard of wages for the whole group. It is a group movement, and not an individual movement; and that is not the invention of trade unions, but is in the nature of modern industry.

Labor Injunctions and Socialism

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Now that the labor injunction question is looming so large, I notice that the socialists are telling the laborers that socialism is the only remedy for such abuses, but is not this court restriction simply a foretaste of what might be expected under socialism? In other words, if the government controlled all industries, and a dispute arose in any quarter, or the laborers were dissatisfied and could not get prompt redress at the polls, they could not possibly be permitted to strike or use any direct measures in their own behalf, because that would be rebellion against the government, to be suppressed at once by force. How is it possible, therefore, that laborers can be deluded into the socialist movement as a cure for the specimens they are now getting of government authority over industrial matters?

R. D.

It is true that the recent oppressive use, which is really an abuse, of the power of injunction by certain judges is a specimen of socialism. It indicates what workingmen might expect if all industry were in the hands of the government and the courts were their bosses. They might say: But we should elect the judges; but not more than they do now. In most cases

judges are elected by the popular vote and are as much subject to the popular will as they would be under socialism. Those who think socialism would be more generous to the least successful of society utterly mistake the temper of popular sympathy. Nothing is quite so despotic and usually so heartless as the public. If you want any evidence of that, just go to a workingmen's organization, to a workingmen's saving and loan association, or anything else where workingmen govern it by popular vote, and you will find that they will cut a single cent in two more times than a capitalist would ever think of. If you work for workingmen, they begrudge giving you hardly as much wages as they get themselves. Their own leaders are miserably paid. Nobody will support lower salaries and smaller expenditures and peanut methods more scrupulously than the public, and especially the workingmen in their public capacity. If the workingmen were really governed by socialism of their own voting, neither their freedom nor their wages would be as great as that they can exact under competitive industrial conditions.

Some Points in Economics

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir :—I. (a) What is the real difference between the so-called "new school" and the "old school", of economics? (b) Is the German or the historical school the new school? (c) Is the Manchester or the laissez-faire school the old school? (d) Who are the representative economists of the old and the new schools?

II. Why is Bohm-Bawerk's theory of capital called "positive"? (b) What is the real meaning of the adjective "positive" in pure economics? (c) Who are the principal economists of the Austrian school besides Bohm-Bawerk?

III. What is the meaning of "social economics"?

IV. Who is the first economist who invented the term "political economy," and who the term "economics"? In about what years?

V. The name of a London publisher on economics and sociology.
H. S.

I. (a) The real difference between the new school and the old school of economics is that the old school is chiefly deductive in its method. It reasons from general assumed principles rather than from concrete experiences. Hence the public policy inspired by the old school is based upon abstract ideas rather than upon experimentation. (b) Yes, the German is the historical or new school. (c) The Manchester or English is the laissez-faire or old school. (d) The representative economists of the old school are Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, McCullough, Mill, Cairnes, and about all the English writers down to 1875. The representatives of the new school are Jevons, Leslie, Bohm-Bawerk, Wieser, Roscher, Wagner and Menger. The recent writers in England, like Marshall and Nicholson, are not definitely either old or new school, but may be classed as eclectics, which would be true of many of the younger economists in this country—those whose writings have appeared within the last ten years.

II. Just why Bohm-Bawerk's theory is called "positive" is not clear. Indeed, it is doubtful if it would have been called "positive" had he not given it that name himself. The adjective "positive" seems to have been implied by the author in the sense of giving a constructive or scientific explanation of the actual nature, character and working of capital as a productive factor in the community. But the word is something of a misnomer as connected with Bohm-Bawerk's theory. It was probably suggested to the author by a previous book, namely: "Capital and Interest," which was entirely analytical, analyzing the various theories of

capital and interest. This book was intended to give a positive explanation of the nature and workings of capital, but, as a theory of political economy, Bohm-Bawerk's doctrine cannot be said to be any more "positive" or constructive than the old or new school. It is quite as abstract and metaphysical, more technical, and equally non-available as the basis for a theory of positive public policy.

III. Social economics means the economics of society. It embraces not only the self-interest of what John Stuart Mill called the economic man, a man merely with a stomach and muscle, existing only to work, but also the study of society and the relation of the ethical and social influences of the community upon the economic production and equitable distribution of wealth as a means of human welfare. In other words, it has added the influence of social forces affecting economic production. So far as we know, the term "social economics" was first employed in Gunton's "Principles of Social Economics."

IV. and V. The term "political economy" was first used by Aristotle, and implied the broadening of economics from household economy to national economy. Among the London publishers who publish standard works on economics and sociology are Macmillan & Co., Longmans, Green & Co., and the Cambridge Press. But the best English books are either republished, or simultaneously published, in this country, chiefly by the Macmillan Co., Putnam's, Appleton's, Longmans' and Harper's.

BOOK REVIEWS

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL ETHICS. By Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago. Cloth, 281 pages, \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is one of the sane books on social reform. Few books have been written on any phase of the social problem so free from maudlin sentiment and ill-directed complaint. The discussion is rational without being cold or cynical. On the contrary, the book is as full of human interest and reform spirit as it is of correct analysis and genuine horse sense. The chapter on "Industrial Amelioration" is a masterly review of the well-intentioned but misdirected efforts at social and economic betterment.

In a succinct yet vivid description of the Pullman experiment, and the Chicago strike in which it terminated, the author shows the absolute naturalness of the failure of the experiment, because it was an attempt to build up a given type of village *for* the people instead of *through* the people. Mr. Pullman's ideas of a model town, she points out, were doubtless much higher than those of the laborers, but they were not the ideas of the laborers. Instead of developing the ideal village through the cooperation, efforts, character and feeling of the people, Mr. Pullman superimposed superior conditions on them. This was not resented by the laborers, but it lacked the democratic spirit of being *of* them.

Mr. Pullman, not unnaturally, from his mistaken point of view, assumed, because he furnished sanitary houses and beautiful parks, and enforced temperance in the village, that when the economic problem between him and his laborers arose all this would be remembered to his credit, and that the laborers would turn a deaf ear to the labor forces outside and undergo some sacri-

fices, if need be, for Mr. Pullman; and here he was mistaken. Superimposed ideal village conditions were acceptable, but they did not take the place of wages or the right of the laborers to organize and participate in the general movement for industrial and social improvement. If Mr. Pullman had understood the social laws of the industrial movement, he would have known that the true way to improve the condition of any class in the community is not to do for them but through them.

The spirit of democracy so well brought out by the author in this little book is the real spirit of the labor movement and of modern progress: namely, that the laborers unconsciously decline to accept paternal aid in any form from employers in lieu of the smallest amount of free action for themselves. That is the secret of the failure (for to a great extent it has been a failure) of the National Cash Register experiment in Dayton, Ohio. The president, Mr. Patterson, is an energetic, well-disposed man, and conceived the idea that it would pay to improve the condition of his laborers, and accordingly he furnished hot lunches at cost, free reading rooms, free baths to be taken twice a week in the employer's time, and a multitude of similar good things; and it worked charmingly for a long time,—so much so that it became a tremendous advertising card for the corporation. Mr. Patterson gave stereopticon lectures throughout the country, showing on the canvass the ideal and almost millennial condition of his laborers. But all this, good as it was, partook largely of the goodness of the baron in the middle ages. "I do it for you, my little man, how grateful you ought to be to me for it," was the inevitable spirit that surrounded it all.

That was another case of doing for the man and not through him, and when the time came—as it was sure to come—that the men organized, Mr. Patter-

son discharged some of the union workmen—perhaps for good cause, but at any rate he thought his previous kindness ought to count with the men. In view of the fact that they had had their baths and lunches and so on he thought they should waive the right of organization, but he was mistaken, and the outcome was that the men preferred their union and their liberty to all the kindness of Mr. Patterson. As a result, he has had a strike, and now has a non-union shop; he has abolished the free baths and reading rooms and become a good deal of a disappointed, soured employer who thinks his virtues have not been appreciated; whereas, the truth is he simply mistook the true spirit and trend of progress and tried to use medieval methods under democratic institutions, and they would not work. The reason why they would not work, and the reason why they can never be expected to work, are admirably set forth by Miss Addams.

The charm of this book is that, besides being thoroughly sane in doctrine, discriminating in statement and penetrating in analysis, it is interestingly, even attractively written, and is entirely free from any tint of acrimony or class prejudice. In this respect it is philosophical and dignified to the highest degree.

CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth, 393 pages. Price, \$1.50. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London.

Ernest Crosby, disciple of Tolstoy, non-resistant and vegetarian, is an exceedingly humane person, yet in this book he impales war and warriors on the sharp lance of his sarcasm in almost savage fashion and without benefit of clergy.

Captain Jinks, the hero of the tale, is evolved from an ordinary harmless lad into a professional warrior, getting his first familiarity with the blood-letting busi-

ness by playing with toy soldiers. The story has a certain amount of sustained interest in it, and, in spite of its serious intent, is not without a grain of humor. Pretty nearly everything connected with war and militarism, from West Point hazing to the feminine kissing of Lieut. Hobson, is caricatured in the book, all of it in the impersonal form.

The book is illustrated with a number of cartoons in the best style of Dan Beard's art, some of the pictures being real studies in themselves.

IN THE DAYS OF AUDUBON. By Hezekiah Butterworth. Cloth, 236 pages. D. Appleton & Co., New York. With an appendix on the formation of Audubon societies.

The author of this book had a most interesting and fascinating subject. Had he been content to tell the story without reiteration the value of the book would have been enhanced, but he sometimes makes a fascinating subject almost wearisome by repetition. The unique personality of Audubon is well brought out, and the reader follows him through years of trial to see him crowned with success at last, in giving to the world his valuable work on American birds.

At one time, when the work was near completion, his priceless plates were all destroyed by rats, although the plates had been securely locked in a dark room where neither sunlight nor man could injure them. The heavy loss was borne with characteristic fortitude and patient application to do the work all over again. One is reminded of Carlyle's experience in the loss of his manuscript of the French revolution, or, as the author says, of Newton "when the little dog Diamond destroyed his astronomical calculations." The book is finely illustrated and cannot fail to arouse sympathetic interest in our bird and animal life.

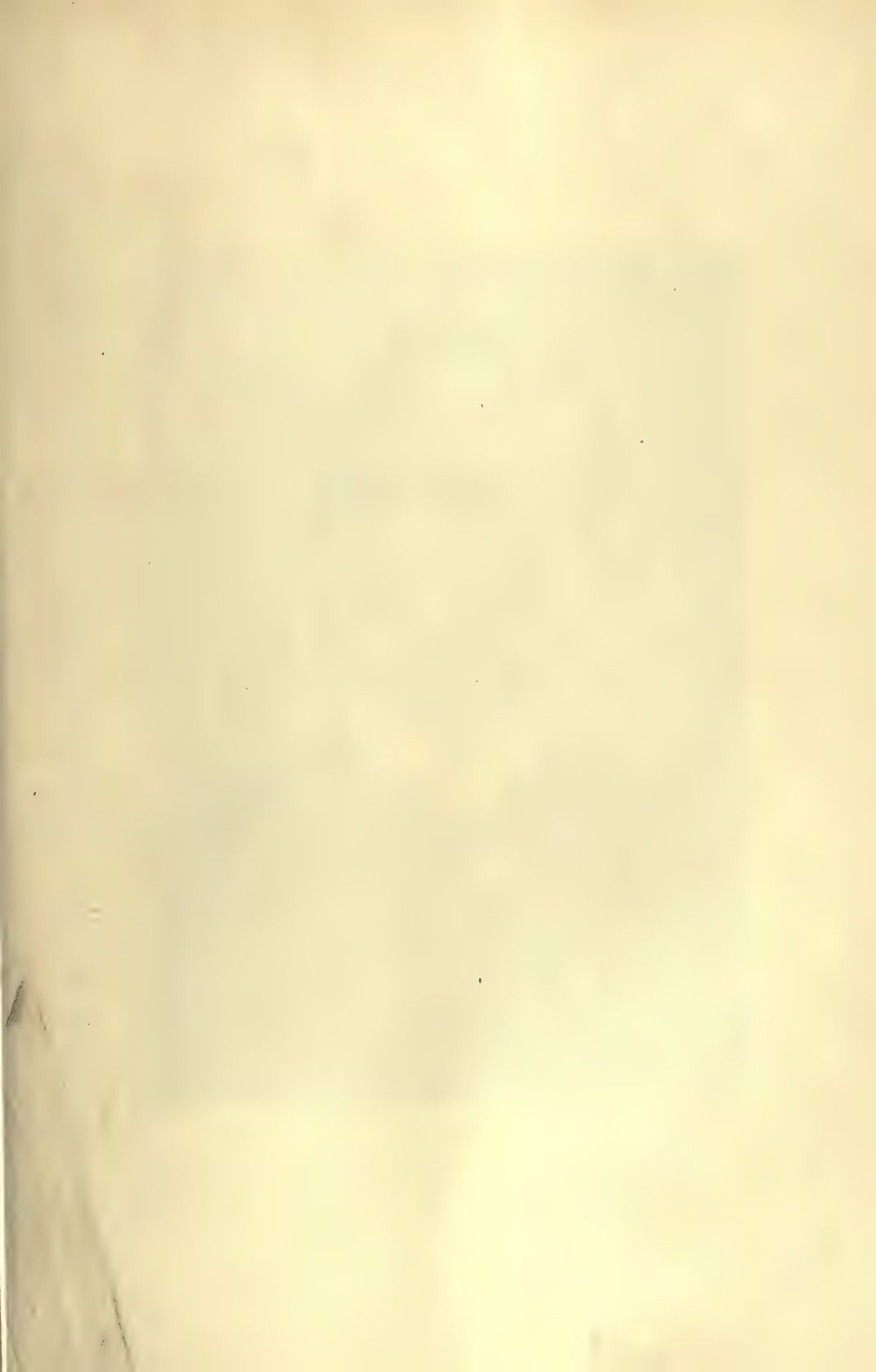
FROM THE MAGAZINES

“So far from the abolition of caucuses and conventions counting as a loss in political education, as contended by the opponents of the primary election, there would be a distinct gain doubtless in this respect. In participating in the nomination of candidates in the larger districts, voters would be put upon inquiry and would learn diligently to search the scriptures—I mean, of course, our modern scriptures, the newspapers—and other sources of information, and to weigh and interpret this information. . . . There cannot be honest and efficient popular government unless—or perhaps in view of actual political conditions I should say until—the intelligent working or producing classes generally take part in running its primary machinery. This class, which, if it does not constitute surely includes the real aristocracy, must be substituted in political dominance for the corrupting professional politicians, and the corruptible class of voters. The only means by which this highest class of electors can be drawn to the primary polls is a secret and otherwise untrammelled primary election system.”—ALBERT WATKINS, in “The Primary Election Movement,” *The Forum*.

“Into an hour’s talk he would pack a mass of compressed information in orderly arrangement, with a careful and most lucid explanation of the relation of the events recounted to history at large. This was his especial gift, that he always, however minute the subject, treated it as part of universal history. In this way he not only popularized American history: he dignified what had appeared to be matters of only local interest, not by an unseemly oratorical assertion of their importance, but by showing that in a scientific exposition

nothing was petty; that all the threads of a tangled skein could be unwound, and were all of importance.

"He was never obscure and was never tedious. Doubtless the habit of reading his lectures aloud to so many hearers confirmed him in his skill in avoiding these two perils; for an intelligent speaker always feels the lack of a responsive echo from his audience, and is on his guard against it. A writer sometimes perceives his own shortcomings only too late . . . One might differ from Fiske in the interpretation of facts, but no one ever failed to understand him. It was not merely his habit of reading his books first as lectures that explains this lucidity, however much it may have helped it, because he was never obscure. His own clearness of mind made all that he wrote intelligible. His marvelous power of simplification enabled him to arrest the attention of his hearers or readers, and to lead them through the centuries, seeing with Fiske's eyes unsuspected analogies and hidden causes. No more delightful expounder ever lived. One may praise a man in this way, it is to be hoped, for the possession of certain qualities without being suspected of making an occult attack on other men for possessing different qualities; there is always room in the world for the simultaneous existence of many kinds of merit. The excellence that Fiske attained was aided by the unusual amount of collateral information that he brought to the treatment of the subject that he was discussing, and by the powerful intellect that saw things large. It is the breadth rather than the intensity of his view that we admire, though perhaps the ease of his style and the largeness of his vision incline us to overlook the solid ground on which his work rests. The rough justice of the world always makes us ready to mistake smoothness for weakness, and ease for superficiality."—T. S. PERRY, in "John Fiske: An Appreciation;" *Atlantic Monthly* (May).





SIXTO LOPEZ

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The New
Cuban Republic

At last the Cuban people have formally entered upon the experiment of self-government. With the transfer of authority from General Wood to President Palma and the Cuban congress, at Havana on May 20th, a new republic took its place in the family of nations,—and yet not a wholly independent government. Under the terms of the “amendment” incorporated in the Cuban constitution in accordance with our demand, Cuba is practically under an American protectorate, even though formally recognized as a distinct nationality and duly assigned a resident minister (Mr. Herbert G. Squiers) from the United States government. The provisions referred to in the Cuban constitution are, in brief, that Cuba shall make no treaties with any foreign power tending to impair Cuban independence, must not contract any public debt beyond the capacity of the island's revenues to sustain, must continue the American system of sanitation in Cuban cities, must sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling and naval stations, must not regard the Isle of Pines as a Cuban possession, must allow the United States to intervene at any time to preserve Cuban independence and maintain a government capable of protecting life, property and liberty, must ratify all acts of the United States, and maintain

all American rights acquired, in Cuba during the American occupation.

President Palma is shrewd enough to recognize that when the United States demanded the right of controlling Cuba's foreign relations it practically assumed the responsibility for such relations. He therefore proposes to save Cuba the expense of any army and navy further than what is necessary to maintain coast defences and a quasi-military internal police. There will be no departments of war or navy in his cabinet, and every effort will be concentrated upon industrial regeneration and political stability. To this extent at least, therefore, Cuba will get a positive advantage out of the virtual "suzerainty," whatever the complications in which it may involve the guardian nation. Embarrassments to us may possibly arise out of this peculiar dual relation, but are not likely to be serious. Certain prominent journals appear to be threatened with heart disease in an aggravated form over the prospect of divers wars with Europe, to grow out of our recognizing Cuban independence and retaining only a few instead of all the reins of power; but the danger seems hardly acute enough as yet to warrant moving any of these printing plants away from the seaboard. The likelihood of any European power inviting war with the United States over any possible interests in or about Cuba, even to the extent of the whole island, is too remote to justify the slightest agitation. The Monroe doctrine is sufficiently respected by this time to stand the strain of including one more American republic within its protective limits, however much its moral force may have been weakened by our colonial conquest policy in the far East. For that matter, the restriction we imposed on Cuba in respect to her foreign relations was really no more necessary than in the case of any other American republic, since under the terms of the Monroe doctrine

we should regard any European effort to obtain an additional foothold in this hemisphere, in Cuba or anywhere else, as the "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

President Palma's
Policy

The new president's administrative policy, so far as outlined, is wise in what it proposes to do quite as much as in what it intends not to do. Continuance of American educational and sanitary reforms is indicated as a matter of course. Avoiding the burden of a heavy national debt for military and naval establishments, the declared intention is to concentrate all possible effort on the diversification of Cuban industries. Hardly anything could better justify the feasibility of Cuban self-government than the announcement of such a policy. It is the one great fundamental industrial need of Cuba, and upon the industrial future of the island the success of its political development must largely depend. Hence the wisdom of the statesmanship which turns at the very outset to the root of the Cuban problem.

The chief concern is now whether the Cuban people will appreciate and support the president's efforts in this direction. He has no easy task before him, with an excitable, semi-tropical people, of strong prejudices, many factional rivalries, and not heavily endowed with those qualities of determination, persistence, hard work, respect for law, sober "second thought," and capacity for stable organization that have been the essential elements of Anglo-Saxon success and progress throughout the world. The prospects at the beginning of Cuba's experiment, however, are more favorable than otherwise. Factional differences for the time being are not serious, and it is to be hoped that the first president's policy will so justify itself in practical results as to assure a peaceful and fruitful administration,

even if General Palma does not, as few could, prove himself another Diaz.

President Palma, naturally, is anxious for liberal tariff concessions by the United States on Cuban products, but he is enough of a broad-minded statesman to recognize that it would be prime folly for Cuba to stake her all upon the one industry of sugar raising, or even on the dual interests of sugar and tobacco. He is reported to be especially interested in the diversification of the orange industry, to include, for example, the raising of California seedless oranges, and in the revival of cattle raising and development of the cotton and rubber industries; all of which is good, and the list might be almost indefinitely extended. The methods to be adopted for attracting capital and labor into these various channels are to be closely patterned after those of our own department of agriculture. President Palma has studied with considerable care the lines of work in progress under the able direction of Secretary Wilson, and a commission is to go to Washington for further investigation of the department's methods, with special reference to systems of irrigation.

A Side Light on the Sugar Tariff Problem It is pointedly significant that the Cuban president, seeking to adopt the best-known methods of promoting domestic agricultural development, should thus turn directly to the one department of our own government whose efforts to apply these same principles to American home development have been the object of the fiercest political attack. The advocates of these principles, in congress, have been for months persistently assailed with a storm of abuse, lampooned as "insurgents," "corruptionists," and "betrayers" of American good faith with Cuba; and all this because, while in no sense unfriendly to relief for Cuba, this group in congress did object to

furnishing that relief by a method which would throw the entire burden upon one isolated American industry, probably resulting in its total extinction. We repeat, therefore, it is peculiarly significant that the president of Cuba, in his very first consideration of plans of domestic development, should recognize and seek to copy the very policies that we are now asked, for our own part, to reverse, with reference to one important industry at least.

President Palma, from the Cuban standpoint, is not to be blamed, perhaps, for wanting the United States government to abandon the policy here which he is eager to have the Cubans adopt for themselves at home, but it is for American statesmanship to draw the obvious lesson from the situation and compliment Palma's sagacity by continuing for ourselves the domestic policy he is about to copy. Concessions to Cuban trade, whether in the form of bounties, rebates or straight reduction of duties, should stop at the point where injury to an important and promising American industry would begin, and if the relief afforded before that point is reached is not sufficient the remainder necessary should be a voluntary contribution, for emergency purposes, from the nation as a whole. Fortunately, there are increasing evidences of a return to saner counsels in the consideration of this matter by congress, and the wonder is that protectionist statesmanship should ever have drifted so far away from the courses of honorable, consistent doctrine and policy.

Dark Days in
the Philippines

It is an unpleasant task, to turn from the successful closing of our four years' guardianship of Cuba to the deplorable state of affairs in the Philippines. Probably history has not afforded more impressive contrasting evidence of the wisdom and folly of two opposite lines of public policy

than the results, up to date, revealed in Cuba and the Philippine islands.

What have been the practical results of the Philippine policy? Three years of sanguinary warfare, which in many respects has descended to the level of semi-savagery; an expenditure of thousands of lives and several hundred millions of dollars, and the end not in sight; a bitter hatred of the Americans among practically the entire population, a hatred which the progress of subjugation only intensifies; and, most serious of all, a demoralizing reaction upon our own moral standards, shown in the plane to which the warfare has sunk and in the hardened "what-are-you-going-to-do-about it" tone of defence adopted here at home.

The latter is even more important and less excusable than the brutalities themselves. It is possible to understand the excesses of harrassed soldiers under intense provocation, but the thing of fundamental significance is the quality of our national moral conscience. The toughening process this has been undergoing is well in evidence when gross cruelties are not merely excused but justified in the United States senate, on the ground that the enemy does the same or worse, and not even a suggestion offered for anything better than continuing the present policy with all its consequences,—as if this were the one only and heaven-appointed way of convincing the Filipinos that our mission is really pure benevolence,—to bring them good tidings of great joy, "Peace on earth, good will toward men." The people of Luzon and the Visayas are already Christians, for the most part, but if they are tempted to commit any further atrocities in war they will be fairly entitled to regard it a part of good Christian practice, on the authority of the theological department of the United States senate.

The degeneration of methods employed by the

army has reached the point where the president has found it necessary to order a sweeping investigation, and whatever vigorous measures may be necessary to prevent any further "use of torture or inhuman conduct of any kind on the part of the American army."

A large number of returned soldiers have given testimony under oath, before the senate committee on the Philippines, of having witnessed or participated in the form of torture known as the "water cure," which has been used chiefly as a means of extorting information upon which to base retaliatory measures against the natives or punishment of native offenders, although, of course, information secured under torture is worthless by any civilized standards of evidence, and the use of it went out of fashion somewhere back in the dark ages. Testimony thus obtained in the Philippines, however, has been considered good enough to warrant severe retaliation, involving the wholesale punishment of individuals and the burning of villages of several thousands of population.

It appears, also, from a report made last December by Major Cornelius Gardener, who was then civil governor of Tayabas province, that the treatment of peaceful natives by the soldiers in that district was particularly intolerant, harsh, and often cruel, including instances of certain outrages for which the severest penalties are scarcely adequate. This report, it has been flippantly charged, was issued as a sort of campaign document to assist Major Gardener's political ambitions, but the fact is it was never printed or published at all until called for in the course of the recent investigations, and this officer's record, both personal and military, is one of the best in the army.

The most serious matter that has come to light thus far, however, relates to the conduct of the campaign in Samar. Major L. W. T. Waller and Lieutenant John

H. A. Day, who were recently brought to trial in Manila on the charge of executing natives in Samar without trial, were acquitted, on the ground that Waller, and Day under him, were acting under the orders of General Jacob H. Smith, who, Waller declared, "instructed him to kill and burn, said that the more he killed and burned the better pleased he (the general) would be; that it was no time to take prisoners, and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. Major Waller asked General Smith to define the age limit for killing, and he replied, 'Everything over ten.'"

General Chaffee has disapproved the acquittals, holding these officers responsible for "one of the most regrettable incidents in the annals of the military service of the United States." Meanwhile, General Smith has been brought to trial by court martial, and his counsel has frankly admitted that the orders quoted were actually issued, intending, evidently, to defend General Smith's action on the ground of military necessity. The case, therefore, stands self-confessed. Another sidelight on the severity of the warfare we have been waging, and the extent to which the "take no-prisoners" custom must have prevailed, appears in the fact that during 1900 and 1901, out of the 5,047 Filipinos reported killed and wounded, 3,854, or 76 per cent., were killed outright, while, out of the 735 American soldiers reported killed and wounded, only 245, or 32 per cent., were killed outright. The implication from such figures is appalling.

And yet it was only last February that Secretary Root, in reply to a request from congress for information, declared that:

"The war in the Philippines has been conducted by the American army with scrupulous regard for the rules of civilized warfare, with careful and genuine consideration for the prisoner and the non-com-

batant, with self restraint and with humanity, never surpassed if ever equalled in any conflict, worthy only of praise, and reflecting credit upon the American people."

Irrelevancy of "General Order No. 100" An effort has been made to justify the "water cure" torture and other barbarous proceedings on the basis of "General Order No. 100," issued during the civil war, which prescribes the general rules of warfare, including retaliation, extraordinary measures, etc. The attempt to make Abraham Lincoln responsible for the use of torture, never remotely contemplated in this or any order ever issued under his hand, only indicates the weakness and folly of attempting any defence at all for anything so barbarous. Section 16 of general order No. 100, in fact, expressly prohibits this sort of thing, as follows:

"Military necessity does not admit of cruelty; that is, the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge, nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, nor of torture to extort confessions."

Even if no such prohibition existed in this or any order, it is needless to say that measures like the "water cure" would never have been practiced by civilized white men upon other white men, even in the most desperate emergencies of the struggle of 1860 to '65 or any other modern war. The fact that they have been resorted to in the Philippines shows the sort of thing that is almost certain to develop in a war of a superior against an inferior race,—a degrading of the conqueror towards the level of the conquered at his worst, and this under the most demoralizing of all super-inducing environments, the hell of war. Whatever is bad in human nature will crop out there if anywhere, right alongside even with deeds of heroism and loyalty, such is the extraordinary confusion of moral outgrowths from this hideous perversion of human effort. It is a fact well established in the experience of our own

southern states that white men, otherwise humane and just, will take an attitude towards men of another color absolutely inexplicable to those not in close contact with the actual situation, and what we thus know of the relations that develop between superior and inferior races, from first-hand evidence right at home, makes the present course of affairs in the Philippines only what might naturally be expected. It is an inevitable phase of our misguided attempt to subjugate by force an alien race.

**The Mistaken
Policy is
Responsible**

The Spanish war was undertaken solely in the spirit of giving disinterested aid to an oppressed people struggling for independence. It was prosecuted in that spirit, and so far as Cuba is concerned our subsequent conduct has proceeded, in the main, consistently with that original purpose. In the course of the war, unexpectedly, we came into possession of another Spanish colony on the opposite side of the globe, whose people had been intermittently in revolt against Spanish tyranny for almost 300 years, the first important recorded uprising having occurred in 1622. When our war with Spain opened, one of these rebellions was already under way in the Philippines, and, according to Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the first Philippine commission, in his history and description of "The Philippine Islands and their People," this uprising "was rapidly assuming dangerous proportions when Admiral Dewey's wonderful victory over the Spanish fleet gave it such an impetus that no other rising in the Philippines has ever had."

The situation we found, therefore, was in its general aspects similar to that which had called out our voluntary interference in Cuba, and at first the natural assumption was that, if we should decide not to leave the Philippines in Spain's possession, our policy toward them would be similar to that proposed for Cuba, even

though a longer time might be required to carry it out. The character of Spanish rule, and the frequent uprisings of the Filipinos, seemed, as in the case of Cuba, to throw the presumption in their favor, and a closer acquaintance with these natives brought to light unexpected qualities of intelligence and stability, even superior to the Cuban average, a fact to which Admiral Dewey on his return from the islands gave emphatic testimony. Beyond all reasonable doubt, they fully expected that the result of our mission to the Philippines would be, as in Cuba, eventual independence, and, regarding us as allies rather than foreign conquerors, they cooperated most effectively in the taking of Manila. So important was their help at this time, in fact, that without it we should not have been anywhere near ready to attack Manila at the time hostilities ceased, and surrender of the city might never have been included in the peace protocols, which were signed the day before Manila fell. In that event, Spain would have remained in full authority in the islands, no responsibility having accrued on our part, and it is quite possible that the idea of demanding their outright cession to us, under such circumstances, would never have been seriously considered in connection with the peace treaty. This Filipino share in making possible our acquisition of the islands was fully recognized by our military authorities at the time, but has been conveniently ignored ever since.

Upon the fall of Manila it was found that the natives had already organized a compact government and were exercising regular authority over a large territory. They were bearing themselves with moderation and conservatism, even toward their former oppressors, against whom they had every possible motive for vindictive retaliation. Professor Worcester, speaking of Dewey's victory and the cooperation of the natives in

the land campaign, says that: "When one considers the treatment which has been accorded to captured rebels by the Spaniards, he cannot fail to admire the self-restraint shown by the insurgents during the operations which followed."

The first signs of a totally different policy to be adopted in the Philippines from that in Cuba appeared during the fall of 1898, and soon took form in the demand, not that Spain "relinquish sovereignty," as in the case of Cuba, but absolutely cede the Philippine Islands to the United States, in consideration of which we were to pay Spain \$20,000,000. Here was the original point of departure from the high motive that had inspired the war with Spain, and the natural results were not long in developing. The natives soon realized the significance of what was coming. Having organized a government and adjusted themselves to the actual prospect of independence, they were even less disposed to relinquish it to another alien power than they had been to tolerate the domination of Spain,—the one foreign nation with whom they had had experience upon which to base any impressions of what foreign rule meant. Men will struggle tenfold harder to retain something they desire and already possess, if only in part, than to throw off hardships to which they have become accustomed and inured.

When the American purpose became clear, therefore, insurrection was inevitable, and it makes no difference whatever who fired the first shots or how hostilities began. The real source of the war with the Filipinos was our adoption of the annexation policy with no hint of ultimate independence. Announcement of that policy is what brought on the resistance, which is sufficiently obvious from the one fact, among all the others, that only the most harmonious relations and cordial good will had existed between the Ameri-

can and native authorities up to that point. Had we announced at the beginning that our policy would be similar to that outlined for Cuba, retaining for ourselves certain specific rights and privileges but guaranteeing ultimate independence whenever, as with Cuba, conditions would permit, there is no reasonable doubt that peace would have prevailed to this day. Certainly, if we had attempted in Cuba the course taken in the Philippines we should have had to fight a revolution there quite as bitter and perhaps equally persistent, and to-day would have found the natives no nearer the point of loyal submission in the one case than they are in the other.

Feasibility
of Ultimate
Independence

No so-called humanitarian motive of "benevolent assimilation" ever called for any such radically opposite policy in these two naturally similar cases. The steadily increasing weight of evidence, as time goes on, tends to confirm the judgment that the Filipinos, if not as a whole better capable of self-government than the Cubans as Admiral Dewey thought, were not far behind,—a large group of them, in fact, definitely superior to the Cubans. There was no more need of taking them under our perpetual charge and denying the prospect of future independence than there was with Cuba, perhaps not so much; there are certain geographical, commercial and political affiliations which might have served as plausible reasons for annexation of Cuba as the natural destiny of that island, but nothing whatever of the kind in the case of the Philippines. Jacob Gould Schurman, chairman of the first Philippine commission, said in these pages, in April last, that:

"There are two distinct groups of Filipinos. First, we have the civilized and Christianized Filipinos of Luzon and the Visayan islands, numbering about 6,500,000 souls. Formerly divided into rival communities, they have been solidly unified by the events of the past few years,

and the new born national consciousness clamors loudly and incessantly for independence. Secondly, we have the Mohammedan and heathen tribes of the southern islands—Sulu, Palawan, and the interior of Mindanao—who are estimated to number 1,500,000. These are all tribally organized and ruled by datos and sultans. Some external sovereign or suzerain they must have, and if we do not retain these southern islands we must hand them over to some other power. Thus, for example, we might exchange them with Great Britain for the British West Indies. But whatever be done with them, the civilized and Christianized democracy of Luzon and the Visayas desire independence. They are fairly entitled to it; and, united as they now are, I think they might very soon be safely entrusted with it. In their educated men, as thorough gentlemen as one meets in Europe or America, this democracy of 6,500,000 Christians has its foreordained leaders."

Further evidences of the unanimity of Filipino opposition to American rule have been given by some of our most prominent military authorities in the islands. General MacArthur has declared this in express terms. General Bell, in the provinces of Batangas and Laguna, island of Luzon, declared, in an order issued as late as December 31st last, that in spite of what he described as our "magnanimous and benevolent policy towards the inhabitants," nevertheless,

"Opposition to the government has been persistently continued throughout this entire period by a majority of its inhabitants. . . . Instead of having the desired effect, . . . this policy in the provinces of Batangas and Laguna has apparently failed to appeal to even the keenest and most appreciative intellects. We consequently find ourselves operating in a thoroughly occupied terrain against the entire population."

And General Chaffee, our chief commanding officer, wrote General Smith, at the time the latter was sent to Samar, that we were dealing with people who were "absolutely hostile to the white race, and who regard life as of little value, and, finally, who will not submit to our control until absolutely defeated and whipped into such a condition."

In the light of present knowledge, it seems an entirely conservative judgment to say that the Filipino opposition to American control is more united, more

representative, more persistent than even the Cuban insurrection was in 1898, which we then regarded as the best evidence that the Cuban people were, "and of right ought to be, free and independent." We considered their case so strong that we were willing, then, to go to war to help them secure an independence which we are now at war to prevent another people from ever hoping to enjoy.

Our Gravest
Danger, and
Present Duty

The conditions now brought to light in the Philippines do not call for or justify mere abuse of the American soldier.

The thing to be deplored, rather, is the task into which we have forced him,—a warfare of conquest under conditions which have developed these barbarous practices as naturally as a swamp breeds pestilence. Granted that the Filipinos, demoralized and desperate, have committed atrocious cruelties, and admitting the temptation to retaliate in like fashion, the original responsibility is with the policy of subjugation rather than the men in arms on either side. The Filipinos, at least, have had several centuries' tuition in cruelty, under Spanish past masters of the art, and seem likely to learn several entirely new points before the present war is over.

The real friends of the American soldier are not those who are brandishing their arms and shedding tears about the "honor of the army" while at the same time insisting that this miserable business shall be forced through to the bitter end. The better friends of the soldier are those who are demanding such action taken as will stop this brutal struggle, and with it end the conditions that have brought about the present demoralization and disgrace.

In brief, the moral of the situation is that a people who cannot be ruled by an outside power without the

use of such means as are being applied in the Philippines ought not to be ruled by an outside power at all; least of all, by the one nation which for a century and a quarter has stood before the world as the great exponent of democratic principles and the right of self-government, even to the extent of throwing the protection of the Monroe doctrine around two entire continents and guaranteeing within that limit the right of undisturbed development of independent republican institutions.

And this leads up to the most important phase of the whole Philippine undertaking, its effect upon our own national ideals and influence. The gulf between the principles upon which this republic was founded, and those involved in the brutal assumption that 10,000,000 people may properly be bought and sold for money like so much live stock attached to the soil of the islands included in the sale, and then forced into subjection at whatever sacrifice of life, treasure and common humanity, is not merely as wide, it is altogether wider and deeper, than the gulf which separated the declaration of independence from the policy of George III. and his cabinet in 1776. The American colonies were composed of Englishmen, had been organized under British laws and administered by British governors, so that the revolution was a distinct breaking away from previous voluntary allegiance. But the Filipinos never had a particle of connection with or owed the slightest allegiance to the United States government. Not even the "allegiance" rendered under compulsion to Spain was ever transferred by them to us, and no effort was ever made to secure it in any other way than proclamation and force.

At this very moment, official recognition is being given to the right of the inhabitants in such a matter in the case even of the little Danish islands in the West

Indies, by providing either for a popular vote, as necessary to ratify the proposed sale to the United States, or giving the people the right to decide within two years whether they will retain their Danish allegiance or become American citizens. Were the Filipinos ever consulted in any manner about their future destinies, or asked if they consented to the purchase of themselves by the United States from Spain? Is there any evidence in hand to indicate that they acknowledged the right of either the one nation or the other to arrange this matter for them without being allowed even an expression of opinion?

The truth is, in the Philippine enterprise our government has for the first time broken utterly with our own glorious past, with the best in our national tradition and principle, and seems likely to depart farther yet. The obvious path of return is to declare, first of all, that the American purpose is, as it was with Cuba, to help the Filipinos to the capacity for, and then the fact of, independence. As Senator Hoar declared in his remarkable speech in the Senate, May 22nd, to make such a declaration is no more impracticable than the promise we made in advance that Cuba should be independent, or than the standing promise in the Monroe doctrine that we shall permit no interference by a foreign power with any American republic. When we do take this attitude toward the Philippines, we shall return to the plane of consistent moral and political principle, from which, through all the exigencies of our national life, we have been able to exert our most helpful influence and render our largest service to humanity and civilization.

**The Coal
Miners' Strike**

The United Mine Workers' Union, in convention at Hazleton, Pa., on May 15th, by a vote of 461 to 349, decided on a general strike, which involves the whole group of about

145,000 miners in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania. Whether this strike was wisely ordered or not, at this time, public sympathy is likely to justify the miners rather than the operators so long as the latter adhere to the policy announced by one of the railroad presidents, that there would be absolutely "no concessions" and "no arbitration." This kind of attitude, combined with the persistent refusal of the coal companies and coal railroads formally to recognize the United Mine Workers' Union, throws responsibility for the strike more largely upon the operators than upon the miners, especially since it is understood that even slight concessions would probably have averted the strike altogether, by enabling President Mitchell to report positively against it on his return from the conferences in New York. As it was, he could not show a solitary point gained out of the various demands he had been commissioned to present, and in the face of this it is not surprising that the strike sentiment prevailed.

**Reasonable Basis
of Demands**

On general grounds the miners are working strictly in the line of what ought to be, in demanding their proper share in the increasing prosperity of the nation. There is no other way for workingmen to obtain a share in prosperity than through wages, hours and general conditions of labor. At present the cost of living is exceptionally high, especially in the case of food products, and if the miners do not get some corresponding wage increase they will not only fail to share in the present prosperity but may actually lose by it. There seems to be no way for them to get this share except by demanding it, and if no concessions whatever are granted they must either strike or surrender the opportunity of even keeping up with the average of public welfare. In the coal mining industry at least, practically nothing ever comes

to the laborers in the form of voluntary concessions. Even the small 10 per cent. increase of two years ago was yielded only after a general strike, with extraordinary political pressure also brought to bear in the miners' behalf.

The published rates of wages, which are quoted as evidence that the miners are well paid and prosperous, are largely misleading, because of the fact that in the coal mining industry the laborers average less than 200 days' work in the course of a year. Their earnings while they work, therefore, must carry them throughout the year. According to the Pennsylvania bureau of statistics, the average earnings of the 145,000 employees in this industry, men and boys together, are less than \$1.30 per day for the time actually worked, which if distributed over a year of about 310 working days would come to less than 90 cents per day. While it is true that certain grades of miners earn considerably more than this, it is equally true, necessarily, that in order to show the above average for the whole a large number must be earning less than 90 cents. It is not surprising that the miners should be demanding something better than this, in the form of an eight-hour day for all miners and 20 per cent. higher wages for those doing contract work. The chief regret is, of course, that concessions could not have been obtained without the losses and hardship of a strike. There are rumors that the Civic Federation will yet succeed in effecting a compromise, a result devoutly to be wished.

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

Current Price Comparisons	May 21, 1901	April 21, 1902	May 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3 90	\$4 00	\$3.95
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel) . . .	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	88 $\frac{1}{4}$	92 $\frac{1}{4}$

	May 21, 1901	April 21, 1902	May 21, 1902
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . .	50	69	70½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . .	33¼	48½	46
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . .	15.50	16.87½	18.25
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . .	21.50	20 75	21.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.)	6¼	5 ⁴⁴ / ₁₀₀	5½
Sugar, granulated (lb.)	5 ⁶⁵ / ₁₀₀	4 ⁷⁵ / ₁₀₀	4 ⁶⁵ / ₁₀₀
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . .	19	28	22
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy (lb.)	9	13	12½
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . .	8⅛	9½	9 ⁹ / ₁₆
Print cloths (yard)	2 ⁹ / ₁₆	3 ⁸ / ₈	3½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	6 ⁹ / ₁₀	7 ⁴ / ₁₀	7 ⁸⁵ / ₁₀₀
Hides, native steers (lb.)	11¼	11¼	12¼
Leather, hemlock (lb.)	24	24½	24½
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.)	16.00	19.00	19.75
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.)	15.00	17.00	19.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	27.50	27.80	30.00
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . .	17.00	11½	12.37½
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.)	4.37½	4.10	4.12½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	—	4.35	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.)	—	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.)	—	2.05	2.05

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	May 3, 1901			April 4, 1902			May 2, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	5	0	5	5	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	14	8½	2	13	0½	2	13	6½
Copper (" ")	70	15	0	52	15	0	57	17	6
Tin, Straits (" ")	118	5	0	119	10	0	130	15	0
Lead, English pig (" ")	13	1	3	11	15	0	12	0	0
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	0	0	4½	0	0	4½	0	0	5½
Petroleum (gallon)	0	0	6½	0	0	6½	0	0	6 ⁷⁸ / ₁₀₀

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for May 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	May 1, 1898	May 1, 1899	May 1, 1900	May 1, 1901	Apr. 1, 1902	May 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . .	\$17.700	\$15.833	\$14.073	\$14.288	\$16.112	\$19.232	\$19.959
Meats	7.895	7.836	7.853	8.932	9.251	10.479	10.968
Dairy and garden	13.180	12.312	11.893	11.930	14.983	13.832	14.737
Other food . . .	9.185	8.606	9.179	9.341	9.154	8.827	8.742
Clothing	13.430	14.627	14.804	17.648	14.945	15.145	15.527
Metals.	14.665	11.658	14.102	16.188	15.179	15.153	15.702
Miscellaneous. .	13.767	12.531	12.625	16.748	16.596	16.554	16.654
Total	\$89.822	\$83.403	\$84.529	\$95.075	\$96.220	\$99.222	\$102.289

Prices during April, it will be seen, tended upward in nearly every group, the rise in food products being chiefly in wheat, corn and meats. In metals the increase was principally in pig iron and tin, while it is notable that leading metal manufactures, like steel rails, wire nails and tinplate, remained stationary, not following, as it might have been expected they would, the rise in metal raw materials.

Clearly, the expansion of demand is still too rapid to be fully overtaken by the natural economizing and price-cheapening tendencies of progressive industry, although, but for these tendencies, present prices would undoubtedly be much higher than they are. This is confirmed by the fact that practically all the present increases are in products requiring the largest amount of hand labor, and permitting the minimum of modern economizing processes such as machinery, organization, etc., while in the lines where these methods most largely prevail prices are showing least if any of the present upward tendency. There is nothing uneconomic or to be deplored in this; because, in the case of producers whose industries will not permit these modern cost-saving economies, higher prices are nearly the only way in which they can share in the results of increasing wealth production and national prosperity. It is to the manufacturing industries, the makers of the finished products, that the consuming public must look for the economizing processes which make lower prices possible without loss to the producers.

DO THE FILIPINOS DESIRE AMERICAN RULE?

SIXTO LOPEZ

It is wrong, and in the judgment of most wise men it is impossible, to settle a question by mere force. To annihilate or terrorize those who oppose one's policy and then declare that the question at issue is settled is as cruel and foolish as it would be to pierce every human heart of love and then declare that love is a myth. Furthermore, it is unwise to attempt to settle a question by assuming that the facts are what we should like them to be. We ought to face the facts as they are, for our likes and dislikes bear no relation to truth and cannot alter a fact. It has been said that a question is never settled until it is settled right—a truism which most persons will admit and which applies with peculiar force to the Philippines.

Keeping in mind these self-evident truths, I purpose reviewing one fact, and its bearing upon the present issue.

By far the most important question is as to whether the Filipinos are or are not in favor of American rule. Therein lies the essence of the present dispute, for if the Filipinos, or even a substantial majority of them, were favorable to American rule, the moral and the political side of the question could be settled without doing injustice to the Filipinos or injury to those principles of democracy upon which America justly prides herself. It is therefore natural and significant that strenuous efforts have been made, and are being made, by those who have an interest in a continuance of the present policy, to show that the Filipinos are in favor of "the blessings of American rule."

Yet, notwithstanding these efforts, the weight of

evidence tends in the opposite direction. Thus, General MacArthur, by far the ablest of the military men who have been in the Philippines, declares in his last official report that, with the exception of the Moros, the population of the "entire archipelago" are favorable to the views expressed by their military leaders. General Hughes and Major-General Bates bear direct and indirect testimony to the same effect, the former declaring that the eight hundred thousand inhabitants of the island of Panay "are a unit against us." One who is referred to as "a distinguished officer," and whose name for obvious reasons cannot be given, is quoted by Mr. George Kennan in *The Outlook* as having said: "The thing that impressed itself most deeply upon me, *first and last*, was the *unchanging*, unrelenting, implacable hostility of *all classes* of Filipinos toward the Americans," and that "the resistance that we are encountering on the island of Luzon is that of a *whole* people." Many such statements as these could be given, all of which are confirmed by the otherwise inexplicable fact that the resistance of the American forces has been kept up for more than three years by a practically unarmed people, the success of whose "unique system of warfare," according to General MacArthur, "depends upon almost complete unity of action of the *entire* native population." And if further confirmation be needed, it will be found in the significant fact that only a few months ago it was necessary to enact the so-called sedition law, under which it is penal for any Filipino in the entire archipelago to say a word against American sovereignty or in favor of Philippine independence.

On the other hand, the Schurman commission declares that the Filipinos "do not, in the opinion of the commission, generally desire independence," but that "it would be a misrepresentation of the facts not to report that ultimate independence . . . is the

aspiration and goal of the *intelligent* Filipinos." Governor Taft has reported nothing, as far as I know, about this aspiration for ultimate independence, and has, therefore, according to the Schurman commission, misrepresented the facts. On the contrary, he declares without any qualification that a majority of the Filipinos are in favor of American sovereignty.

Now, I have no desire to impugn the honesty or the good intentions of Governor Taft. When he makes the above statement I have no doubt he regards it as true. But the explanation of his error will be found in the fact that no Filipino is allowed to express opinions in favor of Philippine independence. All such expressions, whether in the native press or through any other channel, have all along and by the recent sedition law been prohibited as being inimical to the success of the so-called "pacification of the islands." The American authorities have thus placed a seal upon the lips of every Filipino who is opposed to American rule, and those only who are favorable to American sovereignty are allowed to express their opinions. As a consequence, Governor Taft is surrounded from morning till night by office-seekers and others who pour into his ear the sought-for assurance that a majority of the Filipinos are favorable to that to which he desires they should be favorable. He never hears an expression of the contrary opinion, and consequently he does not know how he is being deceived. His testimony cannot, therefore, be worth as much as that of the officers in the field who have to face the grim reality, and who meet with the opinions of the Filipinos expressed in a forcible manner.

Under the most favorable circumstances it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain an accurate expression of the opinions of a people without having recourse to the ballot. But during the present disturbed state in the

Philippines it is quite impossible for a foreigner, even with the ability of Governor Taft, accurately to gauge the opinions of eight or ten millions of people who speak a different language and who are restrained from expressing their opinions. It was because of this, that, more than two years ago, I suggested the taking of a plebiscite on the question, stating that the Filipinos would be prepared to abide by the result. Under present circumstances it would perhaps be a difficult and costly operation to take a plebiscite of the whole archipelago, but a vote could be taken in, say, ten of the principal or most representative cities, including Manila. The result would be interesting and surprising, for I am sure that not one per cent. of the Filipinos would vote in favor of American rule.

Fortunately, the truth can be reached with a tolerable degree of certainty, by *a priori* reasoning. Thus, it is doubtful whether a people in the whole world, possessing even a moderate degree of intelligence, would willingly submit to be governed by a foreign nation. That is a fact which seems difficult or impossible for the Anglo-Saxon to realize. Yet the Anglo-Saxon knows that even the average man, the artisan and the laborer, prefers to *reign* in his humble cottage, with the independence which it gives, rather than to *serve* in a palace. In the latter he might fare sumptuously and be surrounded by that which delights both mind and eye, but he prefers the simple fare and undecorated walls of his own home, knowing that freedom and independence are worth more than luxury or even bodily comfort, and feeling conscious of a something within his soul without which men cease to be men.

What is thus true of the individual is true of an aggregation of individuals; it is true of *mankind* generally, and is therefore true of the Filipinos. We have a proverb in our country which says: "It is better to

be the head of the rat than the tail of the lion." This corresponds with the irreverent and somewhat extreme aphorism from Milton: "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven." Both express the same idea, and show that the lofty ideal is shared by men of different complexions and climate. The Filipinos, like the Americans, prefer to be *men*, even in poverty, rather than subjects in luxury. They prefer self-respect, even at the cost of great suffering, rather than be serfs under a millennial government provided by a master. A self-imposed burden, however heavy, may be borne with cheerfulness; it does not crush the soul. But when one is *compelled* to bear even a feather weight, the free spirit implanted by God in man begins to rebel. This was true of the American patriots of 1776. The tax on tea did not seriously touch any one's pocket, but it touched every one's pride. Surely the manly American must have temporarily forgotten all this when he speaks of "giving" the Filipinos "prosperity under American rule!" No manly man can possibly desire to rob another human being of his manliness. The person who would do so ceases to be a man in the true sense of the word. The Americans, above all men in the world, ought to admire a people who will stand up for independence. Yet there are those who give expression to the thoughtless, soulless opinion that the Filipinos ought to be satisfied with the loss of self-respect in exchange for prosperity and bodily comfort. It is said that the Filipinos do not understand the Americans. That is probably true. But how little do the Americans understand the Filipinos!

It seems to me that any person of common sense, taking heed of his own feelings, should he be placed in like circumstances, ought, on *a priori* grounds, to reach the conclusion that the Filipinos would naturally be opposed to foreign rule, however good it might prom-

ise to be. And, further, that the Filipinos *ought* to be so opposed if they possess a shred of manliness or self-respect. It therefore requires no special pleading to show that not only are the Filipinos opposed to American rule, but that they will so remain as long as they remain men.

There are those who will slightly declare that this is all pure sentiment. Granted. But it is none the less a fact. I said at the beginning that it is necessary to know and to face the facts. This is one of them—perhaps the most important of all. But, be it sentiment, be it even childish sentiment, it is shared by all mankind, and by none more deeply than the practical American. There is not a man in the forty-five states of this great union who could or would suffer a foreign flag to wave in authority over his country. Under such foreign rule he might have the same personal liberty, the same institutions, the most perfected form of government; but that which he would prize most of all would be gone. There is certainly not a man, or woman either, from the Golden Gate to Cape Cod, retaining the self-respect of his fellows, who would not be prepared to suffer and to die if necessary in order to maintain the independence of his country. Pure sentiment? But it is a fact with which the most benevolently inclined conqueror would have to reckon.

In this respect the Filipinos do not differ from the Americans. They have at least a right to the same sentiment, and they are just as ready to refuse to submit to the loss of that which, to them, is dearer than anything America can provide. They hold that the man who tries to force upon his neighbor that which he himself would utterly spurn degrades himself more than his victim; and as long as the attempt is made to practice such a process upon the Filipinos they will remain unconvinced of America's good intentions. There

may be a few who, under pressure, will outwardly submit to that which they inwardly despise; but when America benevolently declares, "I am going to cut your right arm off, but be assured I shall bind the wound with suitable lint and bandages," an overwhelming majority of the Filipinos will doubt not only the wisdom of the operation but the sincerity of the operator, especially when they see that America still possesses *both* of her own arms!

It is conceivable that a benevolent burglar might intend to invest the proceeds of his craft for the benefit of the owner; but the latter might reasonably object, if for no other reason, on the ground that such good intentions were without precedent. Similarly, the Filipino might ransack history without discovering that any country had yet been subjugated for the benefit of the native owners. The unarmed householder, who has been rash enough to remonstrate with the armed burglar intent on midnight benevolent assimilation, has usually found the way to freedom from all worldly cares through a jagged hole in his brain. So, too, the Filipino knows that national freedom has always been paid for at the terrible cost of blood and tears. They know also—and many years ago they gave expression to their knowledge—that theirs would be no exception to the unvaried rule. Yet they determined to pay the price. And it is the most tragic irony of fate that the nation foremost in the defence of national liberty, the nation that has itself paid the penalty and obtained the prize, should be the one to exact this terrible penalty from the Filipino.

Bring hither the scales of Justice:

On the one side is the dead weight of a people's birthright, as well as the sufferings they have endured, and are prepared to endure in its defence. On the other, there are considerations of national pride and prestige, and "world power," and "destiny," and

"legal titles," and "academic questions" as to whether, having taken a thing, it is impossible to restore it to the owner. There is also the supposed moral paralysis rendering it impossible for a great and powerful nation to get out of a thing having once got into it, or to "haul down" a flag that may or may not have been hoisted by righteous hands. There are also "good intentions," and "beneficent purposes," and a genuine desire to do what is best for the Filipinos, "*consistent with our own interests and our foreign obligations*," as well as a genuine desire to prevent foreign nations from doing that which America is endeavoring to do!

Every one of these considerations could have been, and some of them were, put forth with equal force by George III. I do not believe they will ever tilt the beam of the scales of justice. It may be possible—though personally I doubt it—by sheer force of overwhelming numbers and superior equipment, ultimately to compel the Filipinos into a sullen submission to foreign authority, as the lesser of the two evils. But, if ever accomplished, it will be only when the heart of our nation has been broken by a prolonged, an unequal, and a cruel strife. The task will be one of horror, and in its accomplishment the methods of General Weyler will have been justified, in so far as imitation can justify. There will be no glory in the achievement, and no one will envy the victor. The penalty will fall with greater force upon the spoiler than upon the spoiled. The victims will become *subject*; the victors, *abject*.

But why should all this be necessary when the end can be attained by other and more humane means, and without crushing a laudable aspiration for national liberty which America, of all nations, ought, on the contrary, to encourage? A promise of ultimate independence, or even an intimation that such is the policy of the administration, would remove not only all cause

for a continuance of armed conflict, but all the sorrow of heart and bitterness of spirit on the part of the weaker contestant. Under such a promise the Filipinos would willingly yield everything that America is now demanding or can in righteousness demand, and there would be additional mutual advantages. The Filipinos would learn of everything that is good in the institutions of America—in its religion, its morality, its wisdom and its law; whilst America would have a wider market for its products, a new field for commercial enterprises, and a basis of trade and military operations in the far East. There would also be the rebirth of a republic in that quarter of the globe, where liberty has been sought by only one small struggling people, and where despotism has been the nightmare of millions of the human race.

WARNING FROM THE CENSUS

The census, especially in the elaborate form in which it is now taken, is really a national stock-taking. It gives us an approximately full account of the population, the religious, racial, economic and social characteristics of the people. It also furnishes very elaborate, if not always absolutely accurate, data on the state of industry, wages and other conditions of labor. By comparing these facts we can get a very clear indication of the economic, social and other tendencies of the people. Whether we are progressing or declining in population, intelligence, crime, general morality, business, capital investment, wage earnings, profits, in variety and extension of products, is revealed with sufficient accuracy to determine the tendency in all these directions. Of course it is a disadvantage to have to wait so long before the facts are available for public use. It is now nearly two years since the last census was taken (June, 1900) and only the first volume out of nearly forty has been published. In the meantime, however, in order to give the public the benefit of the data collected, as early as feasible, advance statistics are published from time to time in the form of census bulletins, more than one hundred and sixty of which have already appeared.

Bulletin No. 150 is devoted to manufacturing industries, and contains an epitome of the information relative to these productive activities as collected by the census agents. The facts given in this bulletin are very significant. They show the wonderful progress that has been made in manufactures during the decade from 1890 to 1900, and these facts also contain an ominous warning which ought to impress itself upon the administration and the leaders of public opinion and

public policy in this country. When we are in the midst of booming prosperity, we are apt to forget the setbacks and loss that industrial depressions and wasteful disturbances have created, and overlook their terrible cost to the nation's welfare and progress. An examination of the facts revealed by the census shows that the four years' depression (1893-1896) experienced in the decade covered by these facts practically neutralized, in many respects, the progress of the whole decade. A nation's progress is not measured by its increase in population, nor by its increase in production *per se*, but by the increase in production and social distribution of wealth per capita of the population. If the population of the United States should increase from seventy-six millions to two hundred millions, and the capital and production increased in exactly the same proportion, so that the wealth distribution among the masses per capita was not increased and the purchasing power of a day's wages was no greater, then there would have been no real progress in the nation. Merely to multiply the people without raising the standard of welfare is not progress, it is mere increase of size. China is no more civilized with four hundred millions on a ten-cent-a-day standard of living than she would be with a hundred millions.

The taking of the census of the nation, like the stock-taking of a corporation, is to ascertain what we have been doing in this regard during the last decade. It is only by this means that we can really know whether we are making progress or not. The nation spends millions to furnish us reliable information on this matter, and it is of vital importance that we study the lesson the facts teach.

It is for that purpose that modern census-taking is so elaborately organized. At first, taking the census was merely to count the number of inhabitants, mainly

to ascertain the military resources of the nation; but gradually, as the general public welfare rather than our military armament has become the object of public policy, census taking has been widened and classified and systematized so as to ascertain, besides the number of inhabitants of the nation, all the essential facts regarding the industrial and social life of the people, the condition and amount of industry, and the distribution of wealth and welfare among the people. If the decade covered by the census shows marked advancement in the welfare of the people, then the facts constitute nature's approval of the national policy adopted, because it shows that under that policy the nation has received increased contribution from nature to human well-being. On the other hand, if the census facts show that such progress has not taken place, it becomes a matter of public concern to ascertain why. If the progress has been less in this decade, either actually or relatively, than in the previous decade, it immediately becomes the duty of economic and political science to learn the reason. And if it can be ascertained with any degree of accuracy what contributed to the greater progress of the previous decade, or what interfered with progress in the last, it is a matter of national duty to correct either the economic or political policy in the future by eliminating the factors that interfered with the progress we ought to and otherwise would have made.

But, before any generalizations are in order, the facts must be considered and compared. The facts for all the industries of the nation are not yet at hand, but the facts for manufactures of the whole country are now available. During the last few years we have been in a state of exhilarating prosperity and naturally expected the census returns to show that the decade from 1890 to 1900 had been one of exceptional progress, but the

cold, heartless figures of the census-taker do not sustain this enthusiastic anticipation. The population has increased during the last census decade 12,937,008, or 20.7 per cent. The matter of chief concern, however, is not so much the amount that the population increases as the amount that the social welfare of the population is enlarged. This, as already remarked, is indicated in the wealth production and distribution. In the manufacturing industries, the total value of the products increased from \$9,372,437,283 in 1890 to \$13,040,013,638 in 1900, a net increase of \$3,667,576,355, or 39.1 per cent. But this was accompanied, as already stated, by an increase of 12,937,008 in the population. The test as to whether or no, or how much, this increased product really registers any perceptible increase in the national welfare, is whether it yielded a larger actual distribution among the common people. And the key to this must be found in the comparative amount of wages and purchasing power of those wages, as expressed in the price of commodities. The total amount of wages paid in 1890 was \$1,891,228,321, and in 1900 it was \$2,330,273,021, showing an increase of \$439,044,700 or 23.2 per cent. The number of laborers among whom this was divided was, in 1890, 4,251,613, and in 1900, 5,321,087, showing an increase of 1,069,474, or 25.2 per cent. Thus, while the increase in the amount paid in wages was large, the increase in the number of laborers is relatively larger. The total wages increased 23.2 per cent., while the number of laborers increased 25.2 per cent., showing that the rate of increase of laborers was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. greater than that of the wages. This is painfully emphasized by the fact that the average wages in 1890 were \$444.83 and in 1900 only \$437.95, or actually \$6.88, or 1.5 per cent., less in 1900 than in 1890. It should be said, however, that the \$444.83 for 1890 was probably too

high an average, due to a different method of estimating the average number of laborers from that employed either in 1880 or 1900, and due also to the fact that in 1890 certain relatively high salaried employees, such as salesmen, clerks, etc., were included in the wage-earning group, thus raising the general average of wages, while in 1900 these employees and their salaries were shown separately. This might account for the seeming decrease in average wages, but would still leave the figures showing practically no increase.

If we turn to the prices, we find, according to Dun's index number of prices of 350 articles averaged according to importance in consumption, that on January 1st, 1890, a given amount of these products cost \$90.191 and on June 1st, 1900, when the census was taken, these same articles cost \$91.829, showing an increase of \$1.638, or 1.8 per cent. Here, then, if we take the wage averages for the two periods just as they stand, we have an actual fall of 1.5 per cent. in wages and a rise of 1.8 per cent. in prices, which means a reduction of 3.3 per cent. in real wages or the purchasing power of a day's work. Even assuming that there was no real fall in average wages, the decreased purchasing power of a dollar would indicate a decline of nearly 2 per cent. in real wages during the decade.

If we compare the results of the last census decade with the preceding one, the picture is not encouraging. The increase in the total product was both actually and relatively greater from 1880 to 1890 than from 1890 to 1900. In the latter decade, as already stated, the total products increased from \$9,372,437,283 in 1890 to \$13,040,013,638 in 1900, being an increase of \$3,667,576,355, or 39.1 per cent. In the previous decade the product increased from \$5,369,579,191 in 1880 to \$9,372,437,283 in 1890, an actual increase of \$4,002,-

858,092, or 74.51 per cent. In proportion to population, the wealth product in 1880 was \$107 per capita; in 1890, \$149, an increase of \$42 per capita; in 1900, it was \$170, showing an increase of only \$21 per capita.

The movement of wages in the two decades is even more striking. The number of laborers from 1880 to 1890 increased 55.61 per cent., while the total wages paid to them increased 99.5 per cent.; whereas from 1890 to 1900 the number of laborers increased 25.2 per cent. and the wages only 23.2 per cent. In other words, from 1880 to 1890 the aggregate wages increased 79 per cent. faster than the number of laborers; whereas from 1890 to 1900 the laborers increased $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. faster than the total wages from which they were paid. Dividing the total wages by the total laborers, from 1880 to 1890 the average wages increased 28 per cent., while from 1890 to 1900 they were practically stationary. Moreover, the purchasing power of a dollar from 1880 to 1890 rose 8 per cent., making an increase in real wages of more than 38 per cent. The increase of capital invested in manufactures from 1880 to 1890 was 133.9 per cent. as compared with 51.3 per cent. in 1890 to 1900.

So it appears that from whatever aspect we examine the facts for the decades 1880 to 1890, and 1890 to 1900, the progress was strikingly greater in the former period. The products per capita increased just twice as fast. Nominal wages increased 28 per cent., and real wages 38 per cent. in the former period, as against practically stationary wages between 1890 and 1900, and a fall in real wages of nearly 2 per cent. The actual increase in total product was \$335,281,737 greater from 1880 to 1890 than from 1890 to 1900, while the per cent. of increase was 74.5 per cent. in the former period as against 39.1 per cent. in the latter, or nearly twice as great. Thus it will be seen that in some respects, conspicuously wage

distribution, we have made no progress at all during the decade ending 1900, while in every respect—including investment of capital, total product per capita and purchasing power of money—the progress of the previous decade was strikingly greater than in the last.

What is the reason for this? What has happened in the last decade that should have made it compare so unfavorably with its immediate predecessor when the result should have been just the reverse? Experience, development of science and all the forces of modern progress should have given us a greater progress in the decade ending with 1900 than in the ten years before. The organization of labor is better, more complete, and more intelligently directed, and the organization of capital is far more economic and scientific than in the previous decade. These two facts should, and if unmolested would, secure a greater increase of product and a larger distribution to labor than in the previous decade. Then what has interfered to prevent this natural progress?

Two disturbing facts have appeared during this decade. One was the change of industrial policy inaugurated, or rather threatened, by the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1892, and the other the war with Spain in 1898. The first destroyed business confidence and caused industrial havoc throughout the land. The second caused an exceptionally large increase in taxation and a rise of prices. The economic effect of the latter, however, was only slight, but not so with the former. As an economic object lesson, the election of 1892 is probably the most conspicuous in our whole history. It demonstrates, as nothing ever before did, the disastrous effect that a mistaken political action can have on the industries and prosperity of the country. It showed as few events have in the history of government how sensitive national prosperity is, under modern industry,

and how closely the political policy of the government is related to industrial welfare.

In a simpler state of industrial society, say before the factory system became highly developed, such a thing would have been impossible, because, under a system of simple industry, credit and confidence play a much smaller part in the nation's business, but with the highly developed modern conditions, where no business of any significance can be conducted without frequent and almost constant use of credit, ample confidence is vital. Our whole banking system is a mammoth machine for the organization and distribution of credit. The banks are the custodians of the people's deposits, and they are the lenders of the people's funds for business accommodation, both ends of which depend on credit,—confidence. Let the confidence of the banks in the business prospects or solvency of their customers be shaken and they close up like clams. Accommodation stops, and the effect is very much like the sudden stoppage of a carriage at the head of a procession going at high speed. Wreck and disaster is at once the result to a large number. When banks suddenly refuse credit, business men fail to meet their obligations; others depending on them do the same, and so failure, bankruptcy, enforced idleness and all that these imply suddenly take the place of orderly business and prosperity, and all business confidence in the immediate future of industrial conditions is destroyed.

This is exactly what occurred in the last days of 1892 and the beginning of 1893. No sooner were the election returns in than the process of havoc creating distrust set in. Orders for new machinery and new mills, and for large consignments of goods for future delivery, were cancelled, cancelled, cancelled. Everybody suddenly became afraid of his neighbor. Every industry which depended in the least upon protection

was suspected by the banks, which curtailed their accommodations accordingly. And before President Cleveland was inaugurated, March 4th, 1893, a full-grown industrial depression was under way. For the next four years we had a period of continued business chaos. Enforced idleness went up into the millions. Soup kitchens were conspicuous in all large cities. Crime increased. Depression and despair spread like a pall over the nation.

And why all this? Was Mr. Cleveland less honest than his predecessors? Not in the least. It was not a question of his honesty or ability but a question of his policy. He was elected for the definite purpose of changing the industrial policy of the nation. It was his declared object to cut down the protective tariff, of which he had become a pronounced enemy, and the party became committed to practically a free-trade policy. It may be said with truth that they never tried to introduce a free-trade policy, that the revenues would not have permitted it. But what they did was to proclaim that as their principle. Mr. Cleveland and his party took office with the axe of anti-protection in their hands. Nobody knew how much they would hack the tariff, and everybody assumed the maximum. Free traders and protectionists alike acted on the presumption that protection was under the ban, could no longer be relied upon, and therefore must be eliminated from all business confidence and calculations.

The result was that the nation acted as if we were sure of having free trade at any time, and the disaster was as great as if it had come. This shows how sensitive and all-pervading is the psychology of business. Disturb the public faith in the economic and financial basis of business, and factories totter and tumble as if struck by an earthquake or a cyclone.

During these four years production diminished, capi-

tal disappeared, wages fell; in short, economic movement rapidly diminished towards the zero point. In this industrial "slump," caused by political disturbance, industrial welfare dropped to a point lower than the lowest point in the two previous decades. The loss inflicted on business, as if by a huge conflagration during those four years, gave a mortal blow to the progress of that decade. In the next national election, 1896, Mr. Cleveland's party's candidate was a man of whom the nation was even more afraid than of Mr. Cleveland, because Mr. Bryan believed in all the destructive policy represented by Mr. Cleveland, and in the free coinage of silver besides, which was simply adding a new cause for the destruction of business and financial confidence. After the election of 1896 the nation breathed a sigh of relief, not because a greater man or a more honest man had been elected to the presidency, but because the administration now stood for a new policy.

The passing of Cleveland and the defeat of Bryan removed the fear of free trade and of free silver from the industry and commerce of the nation. The new administration, whether abler or more honest or not, represented the policy of protection to American industries and a stable standard of money. Those two things, with the same psychological suddenness, inspired the whole nation with business confidence. We then knew what to expect. American business was protected by American markets, and to-day's dollar would be worth 100 cents to morrow. From that hour all the elements of business revival began to show activity. Factories reopened, new ones were built, credits were extended, orders were placed, and machinery everywhere began to hum. And month by month and year by year, from that time until now, the hum has increased with the

exception of the short period of disturbance created by the Spanish war.

Just before the war was declared, there was a brief period of uncertainty, especially in financial circles, and this always finds its echo in industrial circles. When war fairly broke out, this apprehension soon disappeared, but the tremendous expenditure involved in the war caused an abnormal increase in taxation, which, together with the booming increase in business, had the effect of increasing prices, so that when 1900 arrived the prosperity of the four years from 1896 had not brought the nation to the same altitude of industrial welfare that it enjoyed in 1890. In other words, the national mistake of permitting politicians, for the sake of partisan purposes, to threaten a reversal of the industrial policy of the nation brought injury upon the country which destroyed the progress of the republic in the last decade of the nineteenth century. We are nearly the only nation in the world which did not make net progress during that decade.

This should be an object lesson never to need repetition for the American people. Fortunately the progress which set in anew in 1896 is still going on. In 1900, when the census was taken, it had not overcome the disaster of the previous years, but it has more than done so now. The last two years may be counted as the net gain since 1890. Since 1896 we have had a more or less steady upward movement in wages. Labor has progressed as never before in extent of organization, intelligent leadership, public sympathy and general recognition by employers. Capital is more scientifically organized, more economically directed and more conservatively invested than ever before. These two wholesome progressive influences are having their natural effect upon the economic movement of society—corporate capital upon production and prices, and labor

organization upon wages and labor conditions. Progress is again under full headway, and will undoubtedly continue if not molested by ignorant or partisan disturbances of public policy.

This is indicated by the movement of prices and wages. In the three first years of the last decade we were in a similar state of industrial prosperity. Capital was reaching out, improved methods were being employed and wages everywhere on the increase. Yet, during the first three years of the decade, 1890-1891-1892, the index number level of prices slightly declined (4 per cent.), while wages were literally booming, reaching in 1892 the highest point ever reached until now.

From January 1st, 1893 to July 7th, 1897, the bottom point in the "slump," prices fell 23 per cent. This was not due to any improved machinery or corporate organization, but to bankruptcy, foreclosures and auction sales. It represented, in fact, chiefly losses to all producers. Consumption diminished and wages nearly collapsed. From July, 1897, prices began to rise. Employment increased and wages rose also. As business expanded demands increased, prices rose first to the paying point, and then to the profit point, and reached the maximum in December, 1901. This may be called the boom period in the return of prosperity. This is where demand at home and abroad became more than equal to the facilities of supply. In all lines of industry manufacturers were stocked with orders from three to eighteen months ahead. Here is where we had the great stampede, as it were, for corporate reorganization. During 1900 and 1901 the great "trusts" (so-called) came into existence, and the effect has been seen in practically stationary and in some cases declining prices, while products in non-manufacturing industries have continued to rise, notably in food

products. Now, as in 1890 to 1893, the industrial situation is characterized by a rise in wages, not by a distressing fall as in 1893 to 1897. According to recent investigations made by the Massachusetts labor bureau, wages in manufacturing industries in that state from April 1, 1899, to October, 1901, rose 10 per cent.* indicating that wages are again increasing; so that, since the census of 1900, we have probably passed the point where high prices neutralized the wage gain, and are once more making actual net progress.

Nevertheless, these facts revealed by the national stock-taking should teach an impressive lesson to the American people. They show that the last decade in the nineteenth century, which should have witnessed an immense step in national progress, barely held its own in the advancement of civilization; that in practically all the aspects of national progress it fell painfully behind the previous decade, and this notwithstanding that it was able to start out on the basis of the greatest progress ever known. Besides barely holding its own as a decade, it experienced the greatest amount of hardship and want, social degradation and national humiliation of any similar period since the war. All this was brought about by a partisan and largely demagogical political disturbance.

Shall this be permitted to occur again? We are now just under full headway in what ought to be, and can be, a brilliant and indefinite period of national prosperity. We have just recovered from the other catastrophe and now are making real addition to the net progress and welfare of the nation. Shall we again be thrown off our feet by a false cry and misdirected public sentiment? The vivid facts revealed by the census ought to be a sufficient warning to save us from the

* In the *Lecture Bulletin* for April 1, page 348, this was inadvertently stated as 11 per cent.; it should have read 10 per cent.

repetition of such a national calamity, and yet the signs are beginning to appear that may lead to another disaster like 1892. At the height of prosperity, just a decade ago, certain elements in this country, partly demagogical and partly doctrinaire, joined issue to raise the cry that the people were robbed by the protective tariff. Wages were high and prices comparatively low, and the purchasing power of a day's work at the maximum, but the misleading cry prevailed, and in 1893, like an avalanche, the catastrophe was launched upon us. An effort is now being made to repeat, as nearly as the circumstances will permit, this same political performance to-day. The doctrinaire papers do not quite dare to open an out-and-out free trade propaganda, as in 1892, but they are commencing exactly the same kind of campaign and for identically the same purpose under the guise of justice to Cuba, about which they never were known to care a straw. First of all they want free trade with Cuba, and afterwards general reduction of the tariff, which now as always they call robbery. They have made a fierce campaign against the American sugar industry, not that they have anything in particular against sugar as an industry, any more than against iron and steel or cotton or wool or silk or any other American industry. But this was the most convenient, and they have arraigned the beet sugar interests, represented by those who have invested their capital in good faith that protection would be vouchsafed to them to the full extent of the American market, as enemies of the country, as persecutors of Cuba, as corrupters of our government, whom the nation should get rid of.

And the administration has been weak enough to fall victim to this tirade. Through the influence of Secretary Root and General Wood, the administration seems to have been paralyzed on the question of protection. Perhaps there are no two men in the country

whose opinions on such a question are entitled to less consideration than these two, and yet we have been practically allowing them to stand for the administration. While pretending to represent the policy and principle of protection, the administration, and through it the machine leaders of the party in congress, have dropped the bars and practically deserted the principle of protection in the case of the beet sugar industry. This is serving notice upon the agricultural interests of the country that protection is a word to conjure with in politics. It is a plank, in short, for republicans to get in on but not to stand on. This is where we are inviting the enemies of protection to redouble their efforts, increase their energies, and they can repeat 1892.

The administration and its organs, like the *New York Tribune*, have practically said to the agricultural interests: We are more afraid of the mugwumps than we are of you; and if the farmers of this country should take them at their word we may have the leaders of anti-protection in a majority in the next congress.

Then President Roosevelt, and those who have either betrayed the cause of protection or silently stood by while others have done so, will begin to see the handwriting on the wall when it is too late. Let that occur, and another business depression is raised as in the twinkling of an eye. No power can prevent it. All the great concerns that have been newly organized, the immense, inter-related, industrial, credit and other financial interests, will scurry for shelter like chickens in a storm. Let us have a shock to the business confidence of the country to-day, and the catastrophe would be as much greater than in 1892 as our industries are more complex and interdependent. We should have another decade in which the progress would be destroyed by the stupidity and duplicity of party politics.

The lesson of the census should be a warning—a

significant warning—to those at present responsible for the national policy. If, by any weak truckling for the sake of office, the protective policy of the nation is deserted (and to stand by in silence while it is attacked is desertion), so that the political faith of the people is shaken, and an encouraging opportunity offered for the enemies of American industry again to triumph, it will be a crime against the nation. In this instance it is not, as in 1892, the enemies of protection who are bringing on the war, but it is the vacillating, short-sighted, opinionated friends of protection who, by their very lack of broad national policy, have invited the enemies to open the attack.

There is nothing in the character of investments or nature of business to-day to justify even the early symptoms of an industrial depression, but if the administration and those entrusted by the nation with the industrial policy of the country shall so far trifle with their trust as to permit a political onslaught upon any American industry, and so encourage an undermining of the foundations of protection, we can have an industrial depression in less than a year.

Shall we, in the first decade of the twentieth century, repeat the political blunder of the last decade of the nineteenth century, or shall we heed the warning that the census facts give us, and guard the protective policy of the nation against dangerous attack, as the indispensable shield of our national prosperity and progress in the immediate future? Or, shall we from small political motives let the fox into the enclosures and invite another period of confusion and disaster?

ANOMALIES OF DANISH POLITICS

HAROLD C. PETERSON

Much has of late been printed in English and American papers about the political situation in Denmark, which, owing to the West Indian imbroglio, has been, and undoubtedly for some time to come will continue to be, a subject of general interest. Much of this material has been in the nature of picked-up in the-street gossip; the hastily inhaled "views" of special correspondents, whose knowledge of affairs in Denmark is of the scantiest description. It might, therefore, be pertinent at this time to have the situation in this small but self-assertive kingdom outlined.

Undoubtedly readers of the many conflicting dispatches from Copenhagen have asked themselves the puzzling question: "Why is the landsting opposed to the transfer of the Danish West Indies and the folkething for it?" The reasons for this apparent political anomaly to those familiar with politics in Denmark are plain enough.

The folkething, being elected by popular suffrage, is radical, whilst the landsting, aristocratic in composition, is naturally conservative. The constitution of Denmark provides for a parliamentary body known as the rigsdag. The rigsdag consists of two divisions, the folkething (lower house) and the landsting (upper house). Anyone 25 years old, and not a felon, is entitled to vote for the folkething, which is composed of men elected for two years and representing each 16,000 inhabitants.

The landsting, no doubt with a view of making it an effective barrier against the flood tides of radicalism, is differently constructed. Its members are

mostly of the landed aristocracy, business men of vast wealth and bureaucrats drawn from the large official class. It is composed of 66 members, 12 of whom are nominated by the king. The rest are "elected" for a term of seven years by the "people," the "people" being those who enjoy the income of a professional man in good standing, those who are professional men, and finally those who pay a certain amount of taxes, so that the mass of "citizens" have even less control over the landsting than the American voter has over the United States senate.

This explains why the landsting is ultra conservative and the folkething radical, and in it may be found the real reason for the present squabble about the ratification of the West Indian treaty. It is simply a case of ward methods being introduced in national politics. There are two parties in Denmark, which again separate, as in Germany, into smaller groups, the left (radical) and the right (conservative).

The left are recruited from the ranks of the farmers, the mechanics and the intellectual class, that is, teachers, writers, lawyers, etc. The right is supported by the middle class, the *bourgeoisie*,—but their chief strength comes from the landed nobility. There is a large aristocracy of this kind in Denmark, which, like the English, dates back to the Viking period, and which, unlike the French and the German nobility, is not depleted in material wealth.

They form a very exclusive set, which clusters around the king as a faithful bodyguard, and would fain keep his hand from the people's pulse. They have been very successful in this. For over 30 years they kept the government in their hands, even when their party was in a hopeless minority. It was only last year that they lost their power, which since then they have desperately endeavored to regain. In this they have

the powerful, if invisible, support of the court, and they are trying to make the West Indian affair the step by which this aim is to be accomplished.

The situation is anomalous in that it was just this very party which, while in power, instituted negotiations for the sale of the West Indies, employing in the attempt private individuals like Grön and Christmas. They failed, and it was left to a radical ministry successfully to negotiate the transfer. Now the right are raising a row over the scandal, which was their own offspring and the only heritage they left their successors in power!

They have the magic of gold at their disposal, by which means they are now conducting a systematic journalistic campaign against the liberals. In Copenhagen, as in Paris, there is a large mushroom press, subsisting entirely on boodle, and which exists to-day, and to-morrow is no more. They have also shrewdly worked up a popular sentiment in their favor by their rant about the "immorality of selling people like cattle."

This sentiment, to be sure, is eminently worthy, but during their long stay in power the right were not known as being in the habit of asking the people's advice on any matter vitally interesting to the public. The truth of the matter is, the rights are systematically misrepresenting the feeling of the West Indians, because it is their cue.

When, in the fall of 1901, the *National Tidende*, controlled by conservative capitalists, sent its editor, Franz von Jessen, over there, a great hue and cry was raised by the "no sale" people about the anxious interest they took in the welfare of the West Indies. It was all a bluff. The journalist went to St. Thomas with one instruction: "Confirm the rumor that the West Indian folks are against the sale." Herr von Jes-

sen failed to find such a sentiment, but he wrote home that he did, and, what is more, later lectured in Copenhagen about the terrible fear of the West Indians of the United States.

One of those who long most ardently for a return of the rights to government control is Crown Prince Frederic. He is personally a very amiable gentleman of literary propensities. Some time ago he wrote an essay for the *Berlingske Tidende* under a *nom de guerre*. The opposition paper, the *Politiken*, at once published a scathing criticism of the essay and the anonymous author, in which, as is the custom in the polemical journalism in Copenhagen, the unlucky prince was not handled with silk gloves. Now the owner of the *Politiken* (Hörup, who has just died) was a member of the council, composed of the king, crown prince and the cabinet, and one may imagine the embarrassment of that statesman when the heir apparent, with a chuckle, complimented him on his severe critic!

The West Indian question may properly be styled the Sinbad of present Danish politics. Even in the ranks of the radicals there is some discussion as to the advisability of the transfer, and it is known that the cabinet is also divided on the subject, the prime minister and four of his confrères, constituting a majority, being opposed to it. Nevertheless, they are sworn to carry it through, for the sale was one of the planks upon which the left got to power.

The position of the present cabinet, on the whole, is both peculiar and perilous. In most constitutional monarchies the minority is a reflex of the people's will, but in Denmark the cabinets during the reign of Christian IX. have been dominated by the individuality of the king. When, in the summer of 1901, Christian IX. at last (after ten years' indecision) consented to an opposition cabinet, he did so only with some important

reservations. One of these was that the new ministry grant an increase in the apponages, or wages, to the princes of the ruling family, which for many years had been held up in the folkething. Another demand of the king was that Dr. Deuntzer, a scholar and personal friend of Christian IX., whose political opinions are colorless, should be made premier.

But by far the most significant reservation, and one which practically negated the liberal victory, was the demand that the compromise group—a crowd of politicians figuring as liberals, but conservatives at heart—should be represented in the new ministry by Adler Alberti, the Chamberlain of Denmark. This man's mission in the cabinet was seemingly to act as an irritant to the more radical elements. To-day he is the power behind the throne, and, but for the vigorous individuality of Christensen-Stadil, it is doubtful if the left would have any influence left in their own ministry.

Danish parliamentarism dates from 1848, when Christian VIII. died, owing, it is said, to the shock at the news of the February revolution. A sprinkling of that great wave of radicalism which was sweeping over Europe then fell on Denmark. The people of Copenhagen held a mass meeting, and a delegation was sent to the new king demanding of him a free constitution. Frederick VII., who would as soon have been a private individual as a ruler, complied, and on the fifth of June, 1848, a constitution was drafted and accepted. This constitution was known as the *grundlov*—basic law—and its anniversary is still celebrated, like our own fourth of July.

Frederic VII., who was popular, was the last of the Oldenburgs, a house which had occupied the Danish throne since the middle of the fifteenth century. Many rumors of a mysterious and romantic sort have been

circulated about this king, who was of rather a bohemian disposition. Once he threatened to resign, owing to a popular demonstration against his mistress, the Countess Danner, who, by the way, was a very generous woman. And it has been asserted that, far from dying in 1863, as popularly supposed, he was for many years detained as a prisoner in the gloomy castle of Sonderburg, like his ancestor, Christian II. How this rumor started no one knows, but it was perhaps the logical product of the great political excitement of those days.

It is a fact that he died childless, and the throne thereupon reverted to Prince Christian, who had married a cousin of the late king. He is personally very popular, and no one doubts his sincerity and his desire to govern Denmark in the best way possible. But he does not love the radicals. Indeed, brought up as he was in the traditions and the atmosphere of the old school, and himself an old man when he ascended the throne, it would be too much to expect him to be a model constitutional monarch.

He has personally one specific and very vital reason for being opposed to the sale of the West Indies. In the first place, his reign was initiated by a bloody war, which involved a large sacrifice of territory. To-day he is 84 years old and may die any moment, so that the West Indian transfer might be synchronous with his demise. Should this happen, he would go down in Danish history as the monarch who signalized his appearance on the throne and his vacation of it by a loss of territory! This has been pointed out to him and is said to have made a deep impression upon the old king.

Petticoats at the present play an important role in Danish politics. There is, first of all, the spirited Princess Marie, daughter of that gallant Duke of Chartres,

who was an aide de camp of Gen. McClellan during the Antietam campaign. She is immensely popular with the masses, owing to her democracy and breezy unconventionality. As an example of the latter may be adduced the fact that recently at a charity bazaar she bought a rose of Lona Barrison, the vaudeville star, who had volunteered to act in the capacity as seller in the flower booth. Now Lona Barrison was once very intimate with a certain prince royal, so snobbery stood aghast at the action of the French princess.

Princess Marie is a great admirer of America, and has at various times expressed a desire to visit the United States. Her husband, Prince Waldemar, called the "sailor prince," is also very democratic, and it was this general fault of theirs which during the life of the queen made them *personæ non gratae* at the court. The couple, however, are well liked by the Queen of England, who is also of a very liberal disposition, and, so far from interfering in the West Indian affair, actually, it is said, advised her father to hurry the negotiations.

But, undoubtedly, the most influential member of the royal family is the dowager empress of Russia. This very imperious woman, who once snubbed the German kaiser on his own yacht, by refusing to accede to his wish to speak Danish to a Schleswig sailor, saying that it did not please her to see a Dane in a Prussian uniform, possesses great influence over all the members of the royal family. She has inherited her parents' aversion to the masses, and to this day bears on her body the mark of the stone which some ruffian threw at her father one morning while they were driving in the park.

She was always opposed to Denmark selling the West Indian islands, but once suggested that Russia buy them. Her consort Alexander II., however, did not care to run the risk of thus breaking the old friendship between Russia and the United States.

The success of the left in 1901 did not at all please her, it is said, and enlisted her active sympathy for the rights, who are striving desperately to regain control. The present political agitation in Denmark against the West Indian transfer is merely a clever, if expensive, subterfuge to achieve this result, which uses the land-thing as a catspaw so to embarrass the Deuntzer cabinet as to force its resignation.

This done, the conservatives would return to power, and the court would once more dominate the government.

THE GILL SCHOOL CITY

JAMES T. WHITE

One of the greatest movements for the betterment of political conditions is sweeping over the entire country. It has been felt that public schools do not yet fulfil their highest intention, nor reach their largest efficiency. From the standpoint of the state, the first requisite of the schools is that they should produce good citizens, and after that result has been guaranteed there may be added branches which tend to a full and symmetrical education. The proper demand ought to be that schools train and mould the child for successful entrance upon the responsibilities of maturity. These responsibilities require: The practical acquisition of certain useful things, like reading, writing, numerical computations, etc.; the development of the mental powers of the child; the promotion of healthful and symmetrical body development.

But educators believe that the schools should do even more than this. They should train the child in practical morality, not merely for the sake of intellectual perception, but to incorporate the habits of right conduct into the very texture of character. The schools should also undertake that most important of all tasks, the rearing of citizens. No one any longer needs argument to be convinced that the schools, in addition to moral teaching, should inculcate the spirit of patriotism, and a practical knowledge of the duties and obligations of citizenship.

There has been found a means of giving the youth of the land such a training in the principles and right practice of citizenship as will, within a few years, when they are grown up, create a revolution in the moral sentiment, habits and political intelligence of the

people, and which will bring about one of the most radical reforms in educational methods ever undertaken.

The president of the Patriotic League has devised the Gill School City, which is a system of self-government, something like the George Junior Republic, which, while it appeals to the interest and enthusiasm of the youthful mind, compels a thorough acquaintance with the principles of self-government. While it is, in a sense, play, it is actual self-government, and trains the children in the continual practice of citizenship. By very force of habit it establishes a groundwork of character, which has produced most remarkable results.

The Gill School City is modeled after the municipal government, with mayor, courts, police and ordinances. It is a continuation of the kindergarten idea. It affords amusement and occupation, while it instils the most pregnant lessons in self-control and the rights of others. It shows the meaning of the restrictions placed upon the individual, and how they subserve the larger good; it excites ambition to merit positions of honor and authority; it works a most marvelous revolution in personal habits, such as cleanliness, politeness and good speech, and teaches a practical altruism, which is more effective in permanent results than the teaching of precepts through all the ages.

The object of the Gill School City is by practical means to raise the quality of citizenship to the highest standard; to increase the happiness of student life; to add effectiveness to the teacher's work; to set forth in clear relief, before teachers and students, the great object of education, which is, that the individual shall be led to form the habit of thinking and of acting towards others honestly and generously, and under all circumstances to govern himself fearlessly and wisely.

Fröebel with his kindergarten, Johnson with his

playschool and Tsanoff with his playground have shown conclusively that play is one of the most important factors in fastening the attention and fixing impressions upon the mind, whether in child or adult. The Gill School City is largely founded upon this principle, for it is one round of play, while at the same time it is actual self-government, and by frequent change of officers provides a continual change of scene. It supplies an unending amusement, because each child is both actor and spectator on a miniature stage, which counterparts the serious business of his elders. In a word, it provides unlimited opportunity for the play of the imitative and imaginative faculties, while it encourages and exercises self-respect, self-confidence, courage, astuteness, order, command, obedience, self-control, and all the graces of character.

The Gill School City is already in successful operation all over the country, and has proved to be such a practical means of inculcating the obligations of citizenship that the United States government has employed its author, Mr. Wilson L. Gill, to introduce the system into the schools of Cuba, where its success has called forth the unqualified indorsement of Gov.-Gen. Wood and all the Cuban school officials. The success of the school city has been so satisfactory that it is rapidly being adopted in all parts of the country, and will, without question, be eventually a part of our future education. It is so simple and effective that educators are led to say, "Why didn't I think of this?"

A typical example of the working of the school city is to be found at the normal school at New Paltz, New York. Here there is a small republic in itself, with each pupil a full-fledged citizen, who, without slighting any of his studies or ceasing to be a scholar, is taking an active part in the administration of the school. The school is divided into wards, each with its

organization of president and secretary, each choosing delegates to the nominating convention. The officers elected are a mayor, a president of the city council, a sheriff, a city treasurer, a city attorney, judges and an alderman for each ward. There is a board of health to prevent an accumulation of litter, and a police board to enforce discipline. The officers rank in the scholars' minds next to the faculty, and the discipline is exceptional, the police maintaining better discipline than could be done by any teacher. So powerful is the force of public opinion that no one thinks of evading a penalty. In one case a pupil, when arrested, refused to obey the summons to appear before the school city court. He was sentenced to be banished from the study room, and public sentiment was so against him that his presence was not suffered in the company of the rest of the school. Public opinion was a power he could not withstand, and he saw, upon reflection, that not to appear would ruin his school life.

Not an atom of this is play. It is as much a serious study as any in the curriculum. By actual practice boys and girls alike are learning the framework of government, the making of laws, what a republic is, and what the science of civics stands for. Their little government is in precise imitation of those actually in existence. The nearest approach to contact with the school city made by the teaching staff is that the faculty constitutes a state court of appeals, with the principal as the presiding justice. This presiding justice also holds a veto power, which serves as a restraining and guiding influence over the entire government.

Wherever the school city has been put to the test of practice, the reports are unanimous as to the improvement in the behavior, habits and general character of the pupils. It also awakens an increased interest in the regular school work. The system has all the

fascination of play, and an election awakens more interest than the most exciting football game. But the larger interest grows out of the fact that the work is serious. One school principal reports the following incident: A large boy was disorderly in the hall. When the officer spoke to him he resented it as an infringement upon his personal rights. The mayor remonstrated with him, and the boy attempted to get up a fight, and used indecent language. This seemed to the children to call for summary measures, and a special session of the court was convened. The offender was tried, found guilty, and was expelled from the school. Later his mother became greatly incensed at what she considered an unwarrantable persecution of her boy. The situation was explained to her by the judge of the court, and the next day the boy's parents obliged him to appear before the court with an humble apology to the judge, who exacted from him a solemn promise that such conduct would never be repeated, when he was reinstated in the school. And all this was done without the intervention of the principal. Public opinion was the supreme law and the children are quick to recognize its justice, and themselves insist upon its strict enforcement. Every citizen but one said the court had done right in expelling the boy. And the lesson was not lost upon him; it is reported that he became a changed boy and has never caused any trouble since.

In the Hollingsworth School, Philadelphia, the principal reports that five boys were arraigned for snowballing a little Italian. They confessed the offence, and when told by the judge that they might choose their own punishment, one, who happened to be the director of public safety, said he thought he should be deposed from the office, and this was the judgment rendered. Three of the culprits begged for clemency, which the judge was inclined to grant, but the sense of the neces-

sity of rigorously maintaining the laws was so great that public opinion was unanimously against such an action, and punishment was insisted upon.

The principal of the Hyde Park School, of Chicago, reports that under the school city system the cases of discipline have been reduced from 300 a year to a very small percentage, and that it has so emancipated the teachers from the work of keeping order that they can devote themselves entirely to the work of instruction. The system has proved so successful that over twenty grammar schools of Chicago are now under this method of government. One of the most conspicuous results of this system is the eradication of offences which do not come under the eye of the principal. Pugilistic encounters tending to develop the brute of the child, vile language, lying and swearing, usually go on without his knowledge, and more harm may come from a half-hour's recreation period than could be set right in a lifetime. The jurisdiction of the school city covers behavior at all times and all places, and the best citizens are quick to see wrongdoing in its true aspect and the necessity for its correction.

The principal of the Montgomery School, Syracuse, N. Y., reports that a young Hebrew boy was brought before the court charged with swearing, and in the course of the examination finally admitted it. The prosecuting attorney, himself a Hebrew, stepped forward, and in a very impressive manner said: "And you a Jew, one of God's chosen people, take his name in vain! You have been taught better than that at the German school; you have been taught not to take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. What kind of a fellow are you, anyway?" The effect of that speech was wonderful, and ten times greater than coming from a teacher, who might be expected to stand upon a high pedestal of morality; but, coming from his own asso-

ciates, it represented the voice of public opinion, which would not tolerate contamination, and implied an unworthiness of association with decent fellows, which is a more powerful corrective than the heaviest punishment.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and the educated people of the United States have not paid the price. As a consequence the people have lost a part of their liberty, and must labor longer hours and pay more taxes, because of the dishonesty of the public servants; they must lose life because of bad drainage, dirty streets, bad food and other evils which might have been prevented by the government, if the right officials had been selected. And who select the officials of the government? The uneducated. The foreigners who know nothing of self-government all vote as directed by mercenary bosses; most of those who have little schooling vote. Of those who have much schooling fewer vote. A college and university education is almost a guarantee that a man will *not* attend the primaries, or perform his other municipal duties. This is not the fault of the books, it is the fault of the *school management and method of training*. The present system of school government is an absolute monarchy, in which the teacher is the supreme and arbitrary authority, and yet we are seeking to train our children to become citizens of a republic. From the primary schools to graduation from college, the student is made to feel that he has nothing to do with the government of himself or his fellows; that tattling is the highest crime, and to bring a wrongdoer to justice is mean and dishonorable. Secret opposition and disloyalty to authority are constantly fostered.

It is this reprehensible school system, unwittingly teaching children to stand calmly by without a word of protest when they see their schoolmates break

the laws of the school, which is to-day developing the men who shut their eyes and ears to the corruption in the conduct of municipal and state affairs. And under such vicious training through youth, how can it ever be expected that when the children are grown they will understand the meaning and the methods of right practice in government?

The recognition of the cause of the evil is almost a declaration of the only remedy, which is systematically to train the child from the earliest school days in the actual practice of self-government; to train him to cultivate wisely his own conscience, and be governed by it, rather than by that of the teacher; to cooperate with his fellows for the common good, rather than for mischief; to form habits of law and order, rather than those of anarchy. In other words, the remedy for the apathy of educated men in reference to their municipal duties is to train children to think and act and form the habits of self-government in the schools and colleges.

The Gill School City shows the children that laws are not made to prevent freedom, but to protect rights; that officers representing the government are to be respected and obeyed, in order that the general welfare of the community may be secured; it teaches them to be alert in every way for the general welfare, and how to share intelligently in the government of which they will soon form a part.

The new system develops a strong, hearty, well-trained and well-informed public opinion, which will do much when applied later to the affairs of the larger municipality and state. And it is upon this uprightness of general opinion that the safety of the republic lies.

The executive responsibility thus placed upon the children, in addition to teaching them citizenship, develops a discrimination, an impartiality, a self-

reliance, which will be of the utmost value to them in after life, in securing and maintaining positions of social, industrial and political responsibility, which are always open to those best fitted to occupy them.

The results already accomplished prove beyond contradiction that the methods of the Gill School City appeal and are applicable to youth, and that these methods accomplish the largest results for permanent betterment of the commonwealth. And if this system could be extended throughout the country, it would result in a few years in a purer and loftier ideal of citizenship, which would not only remedy many of the evils of the present form of government but produce a national public sentiment, which could be trusted to advance the betterment of the world.

The Patriotic League was organized for the purpose of accomplishing this reform by instilling into the children the knowledge of American principles, history and progress by means of systematic training in citizenship in the public schools, and its object is to have the Gill School City made a part of the permanent system of public instruction, and put into every public and private school in the United States. Not the least of the good features of this new system is that it does not require any extra expense for teacher or text-book, and can be incorporated into any school work without disturbing the present course of study.

The Patriotic League urges every principal and teacher, who may read this article, to make an experiment with this Gill School City system, and if application is made to the Patriotic League, New York city, it will freely assist in its introduction with information and literature. It has prepared full instructions how to proceed, and, while the system should have oversight and advice, it may be easily inaugurated without taxing the time of the teacher, while it will greatly facilitate his work, and improve the morale of the school.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

WILLIAM GILBERT IRWIN

One of the most remarkable features of American industrial effort is displayed in the marvelous development of the coal industry, which important economical fuel forms the key to the whole field of industrial endeavor. Those important hydrocarbons found in nature and known as coal, owing to their unlimited supply in sight, are destined to retain their pre-eminence for many years to come. In their development to the present magnitude which they hold is to be found one of the most fascinating recitals presented in the annals of trade. To-day fuel coal, anthracite and bituminous, is universally adapted to the requirements of modern industry, a thing impossible with all other known forms of fuel. The early attempts at iron making in this country involved the use of charcoal as a fuel. Later anthracite coal came into general use for this purpose, and about the middle of the last century coke supplanted anthracite in iron and steel making, and this latter fuel has been largely responsible for the wonderful development of these industries, one instance of this effect being displayed in the marvelous industrial development of Pittsburg, which has always been the center of the coke industry.

New Castle coal has been used as a fuel for more than eight centuries, and there is evidence that this fuel was used by the early Britons before the Roman conquest. Coal was first discovered in America in 1579 by Father Hennepin, the noted Jesuit missionary, near the site of the present town of Ottawa, Ill. The vein was a bituminous one and is being worked at various points at this day. The first coal mine in this country was

opened in the Triassic bituminous field near Richmond, Va., where coal was discovered in 1750. Anthracite coal was mined in Rhode Island as early as 1768, and in 1793 anthracite coal was discovered near Mauch Chunk, Pa., the product being first used for iron making at Pottsville, Pa., in 1839.

The anthracite coal supply of the country is confined to an exceedingly limited area, to a field containing about 500 square miles, located in eastern Pennsylvania, and since the discovery of this important mineral fuel, a little more than a century ago, in this field there has been a most remarkable development. The field embraces portions of the counties of Luzerne, Lackawanna, Schuylkill, Carbon, Dauphin, Northumberland, Sullivan and Columbia in eastern Pennsylvania, and the production of the field for 1901 was 67,417,874 tons. While the demand for anthracite coal for various domestic and industrial purposes continues, its use in the reduction of iron ore and in the various processes of the steel industry is diminishing, only about 100,000 tons of pig iron being produced with this fuel last year.

While the anthracite coal industry of the country has about reached the limit of production, and these fields are being rapidly depleted, the bituminous industry is still in its early stages, despite the enormous output already reached. Aside from the gas, steaming and coking bituminous coal, which is a natural product suited to various industrial operations, bituminous coal readily adapts itself, through a course of preparation, to all the varied requirements to which a fuel is subjected. As coke it has already supplanted anthracite coal, while coal-tar gas forms a most important manufacturing fuel and an illuminant.

Anthracite coal is really a form of coke produced by nature. At one time it was a bituminous coal, the great amount of volatile matter and other chemicals

having been expelled by the mighty forces of nature during the earth's chaotic period. This coal is much freer from volatile matter than is ordinary coke, and contains more carbon, both of which facts tend to enhance its fuel value; but overbalancing these is its density, caused by the immense pressure to which it was subjected during its plastic condition.

Pennsylvania leads in the production of bituminous as well as anthracite coal, that state last year having an output of 88,500,000 tons. Save the early mention of bituminous coal mining already made, the soft coal fields of western Pennsylvania are the oldest in the country in point of working, and without exception they are the oldest as well as the most extensive that have undergone continuous operation. These fields extend from the crest of the Alleghenies westward into Ohio and southward into West Virginia. Pittsburg is to-day the center of the greatest coal fields in the world, these having an area of more than 100,000 square miles. The Pittsburg bituminous coal field proper, however, may be said to contain about 20,000 square miles, embracing about fifteen counties of western Pennsylvania, of which this great iron and steel manufacturing city is the geographical and industrial center.

The discovery and exploitation of this great field, which for many years was the sole source of bituminous coal in this country, and which is to-day the greatest field in the world, dates back to near the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and English were here contending for the mastery of the new world. Coal was discovered at Pittsburg about 1758, and from that time until the present day the coal industry has contributed more liberally than any other resource to the evolution of this city into the center of the iron and steel trade of the world.

As early as 1802 a cargo of Pittsburg coal was

shipped by the Ohio, Mississippi, gulf and the Atlantic to Havre, and since that time the river coal trade has developed into gigantic proportions. The beginning of the railway development inaugurated a new era for the coal industry, and in 1850 the output of the entire country in bituminous coal was a little over 10,000,000 tons, the greater portion coming from the Pittsburg field. In 1870 nineteen states were producing soft coal, the production for that year being 17,000,000 tons. The real development began during the decade between 1870 and 1880, the production for the latter year being 43,000,000 tons, coming from twenty-five states. In 1890 the output of the country was 111,000,000 tons, and since that time our soft coal trade has been more than doubled, twenty-eight states being now engaged in the industry. The production for 1901 was 231,393,204 tons.

In 1900 the United States passed Great Britain in the production of bituminous coal and assumed her position at the head of the soft coal mining countries of the world. Last year our production exceeded one-fourth of the entire mineral fuel production of the world, was nearly one-third greater than that of Great Britain, nearly twice the output of Germany, and exceeded the production of continental Europe. Our combined anthracite and bituminous production for last year was about one-third of the world's production.

In accordance with their geological and geographical position, the bituminous coal fields, extending over twenty-eight states and territories, are divided into seven fields, of which the Appalachian is by far the most important. It embraces the bituminous coal measures of Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, Maryland, West Virginia, the western part of Virginia, parts of Kentucky and Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia. It

contains the famous Pittsburg gas coal field, the Connellsville coking coal region, the numerous gas, steaming and coking coal districts of West Virginia, the Birmingham field of Alabama and numerous other famous coal producing districts, its annual production exceeding 150,000,000 tons, or about three-fifths of the production of the country.

The Triassic field near Richmond, Va., is the only bituminous coal producing section on the Atlantic coast, its annual production not exceeding 50,000 tons. The central field includes the coal deposits of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and western Kentucky and Tennessee, and has an annual production of about 35,000,000 tons. The western field embraces those states between the Mississippi and the Rocky mountains, and has an annual output of about 18,000,000 tons. This field is rapidly growing in importance. The Rocky mountain field is also undergoing rapid development, and owing to its immense area is destined at some time in the future to become the greatest field in the country. Its production for last year was about 15,000,000 tons.

The coal fields of the Pacific slope are making rapid gains, this being particularly the case with the Washington field. Between 1890 and 1900 the production of that state was more than doubled, its production last year being about 3,000,000 tons. Lately the work of the United States geological survey has directed considerable attention to the Alaska coal fields, and it is now known that that territory possesses almost unlimited mineral fuel resources, which are about to undergo development.

The application of modern mine engineering methods and the introduction of modern equipments and improved operating machinery have been material factors in the evolution of the American coal industry. This effect is aptly illustrated by the installation of

coal mining machines. In 1891 about 6,000,000 tons of coal were mined in this country by mechanical means. Five years later, when the entire production was 191,000,000 tons of all kinds of coal, more than 16,000,000 tons were mined by machines. In 1900, 52,790,523 tons, or 24.65% of the bituminous output, were machine mined, while last year about one-third of the country's production was machine mined, there now being more than 3,000 electrical and compressed air mining machines in operation.

Improved engineering practice and mine operating methods have greatly reduced the immense waste which formerly characterized the coal mining industry. Electrical and other mechanical forms of coal handling have greatly increased the production and at the same time reduced the mining expenses, there now being many mines in operation with a daily output of from six to eight thousand tons and several producing more than ten thousand tons daily. More than half a million men are now employed in the coal mining industry of this country, and a like number are indirectly dependent upon the industry for a livelihood.

The aggregate value of the coal marketed in this country last year exceeded \$300,000,000 at the mines, and the sum total of the capital invested in the industry is almost beyond computation. Making due allowance for barren areas, the some 200,000 square miles embraced in the coal fields of the country are capable of producing 1,000,000,000,000 tons of coal. Had the operations in these fields been conducted on the same scale during the past 6,000 years, these fields would still be undepleted. Thus we get some idea of those vast mineral fuel resources which are destined to perpetuate the industrial supremacy of this country.

An enormous railway development has been brought about in consequence of the great develop-

ment of these fuel industries, and many subsidiary industries in which millions of capital is involved have been brought into existence. The railway lines centering in the coal fields are the most profitable in the world, but, great as has been this railway development, the existing lines are scarcely adequate to the handling of the immense coal traffic. During the past year or so the roads centering in Pittsburg have been far from equal to the demand made by the fuel trade, furnishing the curious spectacle of a great freight blockade.

A remarkable effect of the coal industry is seen in the fact that, through the shipment of the product by river from Pittsburg, that city has become the fifth in rank of the great shipping ports of the country, its annual traffic being surpassed only by that of New York, Baltimore, Buffalo, and Chicago. Pittsburg stands at the head of the world's greatest internal water-way, composed of the Ohio and Mississippi and their numerous navigable tributaries. The United States government has expended more than \$10,000,000 in improving the Pittsburg harbor and the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, which are now navigable for a considerable distance above Pittsburg, while large sums have been expended in improving the Ohio. It is doubtful whether any similar outlay of capital on the part of our government ever conferred so great benefits upon so wide an area of country and so vast a population.

The development of the coking industry in the Connellsville region shifted the pig iron industry from the Atlantic coast, and laid the foundation for Pittsburg's industrial greatness. To-day this city possesses more industrial superlatives than are to be found on any other similar area on earth. Were the coke supply cut off for one week, these industries would be paralyzed, which shows how closely they are dependent upon the

coking industry. Of the 21,692,500 tons of coke manufactured in the country last year, the Connellsville region produced more than 13,000,000 tons, and the whole production of the Pittsburg district was 15,325,293 tons. There are now nearly 65,000 coking ovens in the country, and upon these the iron and steel industries, particularly the furnaces and foundries, depend for their fuel supply.

The present trend in the coking industry, following that in other departments of the coal trade, is toward the elimination of waste and the utilization of all possible heat energy. With this view, the various patterns of by-product coking ovens, by which the valuable chemicals given off in form of smoke during the coking process are saved, are now undergoing a rapid development. There are now more than 4,000 of these ovens in operation, and several thousand in the course of installation.

To-day American coal and coke are feeding furnaces in many lands and many climes, our exportation of these products amounting to about 8,000,000 tons annually. Our export coal trade now reaches to fifty countries, while twenty-two foreign countries are now buying American coke. Great as has been the growth of our mineral fuel industries, they are far from reaching their greatest development. To-day, in spite of the enormous production, the supply scarcely meets the demand. Millions of capital is now being invested in coal lands, and thousands of new mines are being developed in order to meet the growing demand for the product. Altogether, the story of the rise of this great industry presents one of the most remarkable phases of our industrial development.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

MR. EDWARD F. SHEPARD thought he could reform Tammany Hall from the inside, but the people were not willing to loan him the city government as the apparatus for an operation so highly uncertain. Too many previous surgeons had found that, while the pain suffered by the patient was hardly worth mentioning, the disabled apparatus had to be withdrawn for extensive repairs.

Mr. Lewis Nixon likewise thought he could reform Tammany from the inside, but after divers murky days and nights of the inner darkness he is already glad to avail himself of the deliverance vouchsafed to Jonah. Now he returns to his shipyards, where so decent a gentleman ought to have remained in the first place. Next!

RUSKIN BUSINESS COLLEGE, a socialist institution at Trenton, Missouri, advertises for students in the following manner:

"WANTED—Young men and women of the right kind of energy and stick-to-a-tive-ness. . . . No room for loafers and weaklings who are too lazy to work."

If a simple institution like a business college can get along only with people of the "right kind of energy and stick-to-a-tive-ness," it is pertinent to inquire just how long a socialist organization of our infinitely complex modern industrial society is expected to survive, when this rigid line of selection cannot be drawn in any such fashion, to include only the "right kind"? Will the socialist Utopia raise the sign over its portals, "No room for loafers and weaklings who are too lazy to work"? And if so, to just what planet will this unfortunately large contingent of the human race be assigned?

THE NEW YORK *Times* thinks the democratic party will soon gain glory and power if it will only forget Bryan and devote all its attention to cutting the American tariff. It urges democratic congressmen to vote with the republicans when they are foolish enough to cut American industries. It may bring a few soup kitchens and bankruptcy, but to consider that is mere selfishness. The high political ethics which shall elevate the democratic party to greatness and fame is to cut,—cut anything and everything that looks like protection to American industry. Besides, that is so simple. It does not need any brains, nor any leadership, nor any principle. Brigands even can learn that. The *Times* evidently remembers that its party was once successful under the policy of cutting American prosperity. To be sure, it was turned out of power at the first opportunity, but then, virtue is its own reward, and it has to-day the satisfaction of knowing that it neutralized the entire progress of the last decade in the 19th century.

SINCE THE adoption of modern industrial methods there has been a general tendency of population to center in large cities. This has been so in a marked degree since 1850, and is particularly characteristic of the most progressive nations. In England and Wales 69.73 per cent. of the people live in cities of over 10,000 population. In the United States 27.6 per cent. of the population is in cities of the specified size. This tendency of population to become urban has no better illustration than in Australia, a comparatively new country, where 41.4 of the people are dwellers in cities.

This disposition of the people to turn cityward is a cause of worriment to certain so-called economists and reformers, but is not of itself alarming. In fact it is a natural and healthy manifestation of modern social and

industrial life. The thing for the real reformer to do is not to rail against cities, and wail because so many people insist upon living in them, but to bend his energies upon the solution of municipal problems, and in behalf of social betterment in our great centers of population. This means effort in behalf of tenement house reform, better sanitation, and an improved physical and moral environment generally. Under existing conditions the people cannot be kept from living in cities, but cities can be made infinitely better places in which people may live. That in fact is the practical end of the problem with which people should wrestle, and with which they can contend successfully.

AND STILL the *New York Tribune* is calling the consistent protectionists in congress "insurgents." Just when, by the way, did "insurgent" become such an odious term of reproach? It is now considered fairly respectable, even in the best circles, to have been an American "insurgent" in 1776, or an anti-slavery "insurgent" before the 60's, or a Cuban "insurgent" before the Spanish war; and if, in the present sugar tariff struggle in congress, the cause of honest protection to American industries survives the masked assaults of its professing friends, the principles for which the "insurgents" are standing may once more become, as in former days, the approved test of party regularity.

There are dangerous signs of this in the air already, —in fact, the *Tribune's* last two references to the "insurgents" have been to record their success in voting down the machine dictation of the party leaders who have been, for whatever reasons, trying to establish the future of the Cuban rather than American sugar industry. And when the "insurgents" do become the recognized conservators of genuine American policy and regulation party doctrine, how nimbly the *Tribune* will

vault the barbed wires again! It is great on regularity, nowadays, is the *Tribune*; that is its forte, in fact. It "stands with the administration" whichever way the political wind makes the weather-vanes point. Why certainly. There may be more coronations at almost any time. *Somebody* must attend them, and who more naturally than the faithful editor who, through every change of party masters, not only serves but also stands and waits?

THE HYSTERICAL newspapers are fighting what they call the "beef trust" after the manner of the Spanish "don" and his windmill. Of course it is not at all necessary to prove that there is a beef trust, or having done so to demonstrate that it and it alone is responsible for the rise in the price of beef. An effort of that sort would not be at all to the taste of the papers which make their impression upon the superficial by violently beating the tom-tom of prejudice. In pursuing their allotted way these newspapers do some funny things, and throw fact, logic and common sense to the dogs.

In the first place, we were asked to believe that the "trust" was actually lying awake nights in order to devise plans by which it could reduce the consumption of beef and curtail trade in the article it had to sell. The fact that every business enterprise or combination of capital has for its chief end the increase of trade and extension of the consumption of its product makes no impression upon papers afflicted with anti-trust mania.

Having exploited this bit of bad logic and economic error, the same class of papers came up smiling with another batch of nonsense cut from the same cloth. They told a gaping populace that the "trust" had actually been running the beef cattle out of the United States, and feeding England and the continent on roast

beef at considerably less prices than the Americans pay for the same article of food. Just what object the beef packers would have in thus cutting off their own profits at home, to sell cheap beef to the aliens abroad, the anti-trust organs have not told us. In fact, in this whole matter they are simply following the same old channels with the same old objects, to arouse prejudice and fan class hatred and social envy.

IT APPEARS that the *Manufacturers' Record* begins to regard itself as somewhat of a sage in southern journalism. As a sort of a golden-wedding souvenir, it has published a special issue as its "Twentieth Century Number." Regardless of the fact that it is a little young to regard itself as among the sages, its anniversary number is a very successful and creditable effort to give its readers something of special and permanent value. It shows very clearly that, notwithstanding that the *Record* is rather backward, not to say narrow, on the child-labor question, it is thoroughly alive and energetic and up-to-date in all other respects regarding southern interests. In this twentieth century number it has a large number of excellent contributions from men prominent in affairs, from the North as well as the South. On "Southern Money in Banking" it has a contribution from Ex-Controller Eckels; on "The Southern Iron and Steel Industries," from James M. Swank, than whom nobody could speak with greater knowledge and authority; one also from Mr. J. Stephen Jeans, secretary of the British Iron Trade Association, who is the Swank of England; and one on "Some Industrial Needs of the South," by Edward H. Sanborn, general manager of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Our readers will remember that about a year ago Mr. Sanborn wrote an article on factory life in the

South, in which he recommended the 60-hour-a-week system and restriction of child labor to twelve years of age during the public school term. Although this is a very conservative proposition, having been adopted over seventy years ago in England, and many years ago in practically every manufacturing state in the union, and is established by law throughout Europe, Mr. Sanborn's declaration was ahead of any previous utterance in the South, and we hailed it as a sign of progress. It is to be regretted that Mr. Sanborn did not, in his article on "Some Industrial Needs of the South," urge at least the adoption of a ten-hour day for factories. Perhaps his twelve-year-limit proposition did not receive sufficient encouragement to warrant such a "radical" suggestion.

HERBERT SPENCER, in his new book, said to be his last, expresses his detestation of "that conception of social progress which presents as its aim increase of population, growth of wealth, spread of commerce," and all that. It is quite possible that the great synthetic philosopher is simply detesting a man of straw, if he assumes that anybody is seriously concerned about a manifestation of social progress, however material, apart from the interests of the best and largest human welfare.

It is easy and somewhat popular to deprecate the influence of commerce and decry wealth. There is a good deal of superficial assumption that commerce and wealth are hindrances rather than helps to desirable social progress, but the history of human society demonstrates the contrary. The development of commerce, the increase of wealth, and that conservation of life which has to do with increase of population, have in the aggregate added to human welfare, and broadened the horizon of human possibilities.

Mr. Spencer declares that "in the politico-economic ideal of human existence there is contemplated quantity only and not quality." Again the facts run counter to the Spencerian theory. It must be a defective vision and a mistaken judgment which cannot see that the quality of life has been elevated with the growth of commerce and the accumulation of wealth. Who can imagine that life for the great masses in the modern industrial nations is not vastly superior intellectually and morally to that which existed before commerce was developed and diversified wants had led men to desire more wealth as a means of securing more welfare? It is an historic fact that learning and light and the desire for liberty emerged from the submergence of the dark ages, not in the wilderness, but in a few industrial and commercial cities of continental Europe. It is the recognition of the connection between man's material good and social growth which makes "fifty years of Europe" better than "a cycle of Cathay."

This is not saying that the spread of commerce and the acquisition of wealth may not be accompanied by innumerable abuses. But normal human progress depends upon men wisely taking things as they are, seeking the larger life on that basis, and, without bewailing the disparity between quantity and quality of life, seeking the ends of a stable social progress by increasing the number of the fit, who are wise enough to see that human welfare depends in its largest sense upon all the things, material as well as moral, which broaden life, add to real happiness and the development of character.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

QUESTION BOX

The President and the Spoilsmen

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You have implied in some of your recent discussions that President Roosevelt is inclined to yield to the spoilsmen for the sake of a second term, but is it not a fact that, among his first acts as president, was a wide extension of the civil service rules, new orders for the effective enforcement of these rules, the removal of Bidwell, against all political opposition from New York state, a new standard of appointments in the South, and especially vigorous action towards army and navy scandals? The president ought to have credit for going a long way ahead of his predecessors, even if he is not entirely free from yielding on some points for the sake of harmony.

G. R.

Yes, indeed; it is true President Roosevelt began with the highest kind of intentions and standards, and the fact that, under the power of political custom, which might often be spelt coercion, even he could not entirely maintain his ground, is nearly conclusive proof that nobody can. No man ever went to the presidency with a cleaner record, a stronger purpose and a more concrete individuality than Theodore Roosevelt. He had made the most marvelous progress in public life ever enjoyed by a man of his age, and had mounted to each successfully higher plane without the aid of the professional politician. Never at any stage was he the choice of the "organization." It acquiesced only be-

cause the tide in his favor was irresistible. Yet he has not been president six months before he succumbs to one thing after another. Of course, he would never have removed Appraiser Wakeman for any charges that could have been made against him. He had really too much conscience and too much manhood to retain Bidwell; but, then, as a compromise with the powers that kill, he had to sacrifice Wakeman. He never would have removed Pension Commissioner Evans on the merits of the case, but to escape the opposition of the politicians of the Grand Army and the pension lobby. He removed Commissioner Evans, but, to satisfy his conscience, he insists upon giving Mr. Evans another place equally as good.

So, again, in the immigration department, he could not keep Powderly in the face of facts too obvious to be obscured; but, as a compromise with the enemies of clean administration, he removed McSweeney, who, on any rule of fitness, should have been retained. All this occurring under Mr. Roosevelt only the more clearly demonstrates the well-nigh irresistible tyranny of the prevailing political custom of the boss control of public appointments. If Mr. Roosevelt could not resist this force, we are not likely soon to find a man who can. The remedy must be sought in a change in political methods, which shall remove this power of dictation and coercion by a few leaders. The only feasible means of accomplishing this now in sight is to transfer the nomination of public officers from machine-controlled conventions to the direct vote of the people.

Political Education for Young Women

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the April number of this magazine we find an article on "Public Schools and Good Government," and the writer ably sets forth the importance

of teaching those who are to administer the affairs of state somewhat of their duties as citizens.

He would have the pupils in the grammar schools and the lower grades of the high school taught not only political economy, but ethics as well; and that "there is the place to start the masses on the road to the ballot-box." It is difficult for us to understand the feasibility of this undertaking, inasmuch as ninety per cent. of the teachers in the departments mentioned are women, who are supposed to know nothing of political science.

How could the "elementary principles of taxation" be taught by a woman who pays taxes, yet cannot be represented by her ballot on election day? How could she teach him the majesty of the word "*ought*" without intimating that those who are governed by laws OUGHT to have a voice in making those laws, according to the spirit of American institutions.

How could she prepare him for the "difficult and dangerous task of self-government" while she before the law is a perpetual minor, never attaining to the dignity of the boy of twenty-one whom she has trained from a child up? And lastly, what right has the law to insist upon taking any portion of a young woman's time while in the schoolroom to acquire a knowledge of that which can never be of any practical benefit to her while in a disfranchised state?

REV. KATE HUGHES,
Table Grove, Illinois.

(The article to which our correspondent refers was by Prof. S. E. Forman, Ph.D., who, upon invitation, makes the following rejoinder:)

There are several reasons why girls as well as boys should study civics. First, an elementary knowledge of political science introduces one to a most important and all-absorbing subject of human interest. It illuminates and makes attractive the columns in the newspaper which are devoted to politics and thus diverts the attention somewhat from the columns devoted to unworthy topics. Second, if a woman understands her government and has an interest in public questions, her knowledge and her interest will be sure to make them-

selves felt among her associates, and the influence of her enlightenment will find its way to the ballot-box, although she does not go there herself. Third, in a few states women have a right to vote at all elections; in a large number of states they have a right to vote at school and municipal elections; in a still larger number of states they may act as public officials; that in all such states young women should be prepared in school for their political duties will be readily conceded. Fourth, if the area over which women are sharing the suffrage with men is widening, prudence would seem to dictate that there be a more widely extended scheme of preparing young women for political activities. Certainly it is to be hoped that such a preparation will always precede any actual participation in public affairs.

S. E. FORMAN.

Free Traders and Prosperity

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you not misrepresent the free trader in saying that prosperity is a source of perplexity to him? Does he not, on the contrary, explain American prosperity, for instance, as the inevitable result of turning loose the most vigorous and progressive portion of the most advanced civilization of the world into a land full of the richest natural resources and opportunities, so that wealth and prosperity were bound to result, regardless of any tariff policies?

W. W. N.

Of course, free traders would object to being regarded as enemies of prosperity, because that is not their intention; but they do think our prosperity is in spite of our protective policy, and not at all the result of it. But it is distinctly true that, whenever we have a period of prosperity, they become restless for a change of policy.

They do attribute American prosperity to American

energy, and our immensely rich natural resources and opportunities, such as our variety of climate, virgin soil and rich minerals. But they entirely forget that Russia has all these opportunities, limitless land, all the climates, immense mineral beds, yet prosperity and progress she has not. Her people are poor, ignorant and superstitious. These conditions all exist in South America, and yet semi-barbarism prevails. They seem, also, to be impervious to the lesson that every time, largely through their persistent agitation, the tariff policy is seriously disturbed, all this prosperity disappears, although these natural opportunities and this same vigorous American temperament remains. This whole notion upon which the *laissez-faire* theory rests, that prosperity is due to the original resources of the nation, is fallacious. The physical resources of the country may be unbounded, and still barbarism prevail, unless the social character of the people is stimulated. All these opportunities were here when the aborigines on this continent were roving barbarians. It is the development of the social character of the people that leads to the utilization of natural forces, and not the extent of natural forces that makes the progress of the people.

It is because protection, properly applied, increases the stimulating opportunities for this social development that it helps progress. The development of manufacture has led to the building of railroads, the cultivation of land, the digging of coal, iron and precious metals, all of which were as naught until the social activities were incited. Mere contact with nature does not do this, but protection to the market of diversified industries does. Yes, they reason in just the way you say, but it is from a mistaken conception of the initiatory forces of social progress, and it is for that reason that the free-trade idea *per se* is distinctly false economic doctrine.

Self-Development and Altruism

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In all your discussions of our national foreign policy, including such questions as immigration, annexation, free trade, etc., you make the point that our first duty as a nation is to ourselves, and if we do not perform that we shall never be able to do much for others. I would ask, where would you draw the line? At what point are we to put this self-developed strength into use in helping others? At whatever point we should begin to do this, it would be true that the time and energy thus spent could have been put into more self-development; and, therefore, there would never seem to be a time in prospect when we shall be rich enough or civilized enough to slacken up and help somebody else. E. M.

There never should be a time when we ought to "slacken up" and help somebody else. That is not the way to help. The way to help other nations is through, and simultaneously, helping ourselves. This is very much like a somewhat prevalent notion regarding distribution and production. It is commonly assumed that distribution is something entirely apart from production. Hence the common remark that we produce enough, but do not distribute, from which it is crudely assumed that society should "slacken up" producing and go to distributing wealth. There is no way in which that can be done except through charity. Economic distribution can only take place contemporaneously with and as a part of the process of production.

That is true with relation to nations helping each other. Our help to less-advanced nations should not, and probably never will, come by our "slackening up" in doing for ourselves. The way we shall help other nations is not by giving them wealth or charity in any form, but by giving them the benefits of our improved methods and devices and friendly good offices. We are

doing that to a tremendous extent already. For instance, our improvements in locomotives and shoe machinery and all kinds of agricultural machinery, which we are sending to Russia and Austria and other countries, are doing more for their progress than any cheap charity we might render by our "slackening up" to do for them what they ought to do for themselves. In the item of sewing machines alone, we have rendered immense practical help to Europe and South America. In developing the factory system, England did more for the rest of the world than if she had distributed equally her entire wealth among European and Asiatic nations. The Standard Oil Company, in developing the great system of refining oil and the pipe-line system of transportation, which has been adopted bodily by Russia, has done more for Russia than it would have if it had distributed among the Russian peasants its entire hundred millions of capital stock. That is why we can always do the most for other nations by making the most of ourselves.

Labor and Wealth Production

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You have said that labor is not entitled to all wealth because a large part of it is produced by nature working through machinery. But what is the machinery itself but the product of somebody's labor and ingenuity, and why should one group of men, from generation to generation, be permitted to control the results of these great inventions of wealth-producing instruments?

G. M.

It is not true that any group of men are "permitted to control the result of these great inventions from generation to generation." By the very process of economic competition these results slip away from them. There is not a great invention of the last century that the capitalists have controlled for one genera-

tion: most of them not for one decade. The benefits of inventions do at first go to those who own and supply the capital, but a short time usually suffices for these increased profits to be dissipated by competition and lower prices, increased wages and other distributing forces. Of course machinery is itself but the product of somebody's labor, but that labor was paid for at the time the machinery was made. The laborer cannot claim both his wages and the product. This notion that capital is stored-up labor is all wrong. Machinery is not labor, it is product—commodity. When that machinery is used as a means of further production, it reduces the cost of production and at first increases the profits; and these profits, through the forces just referred to, are soon distributed to the laborers and the public through higher wages, shorter hours and lower prices.

BOOK REVIEWS

EPOCHS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, A. B., Ph. D. Three volumes. Cloth. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London and Bombay.

Each of the three volumes of this set of books has a separate author, and aims to treat a distinct if not arbitrary period in our history. Volume one deals with "The Colonies," covers the period from 1492 to 1750, and has for its author Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The volume tells the story incident to subduing the wilderness in the new world, and the slow establishment of social and political order during the colonial period. It was a time of almost ceaseless battles with wild beasts, wild men and nature in the rough. A period in our history is covered about which there is little room for controversy, and where there is less temptation to indulge in those historical sins of omission and commission from which the subsequent volumes of the series are not free.

The three books are all built on the same general plan. Each is embellished with maps, contains valuable references at the beginning of the chapters, is divided into sub-topics, and is supplemented by an alphabetical index. It may be said that the books are admirably arranged for study or reference.

Volume two has for its author Prof. Hart, the general editor of the series. It is entitled "Formation of the Union," and covers the period from 1750 to 1829. In this period occurred the events which led up to the war for independence, the struggle with the "mother country," the experiment with the confederation, and the formation of the "more perfect union." In this

volume there begins to crop out what would seem to be a vein of political prejudice which reaches its culmination in the third book of the series.

The word "people" is used in an exceedingly loose and restricted sense. Scant justice is done to John Quincy Adams and his administration. Adams was confessedly, if not admittedly, the author of the Monroe doctrine, and for purity and statesmanship the administrations of few presidents in the history of the country equaled his. Yet the defeat of Adams by Jackson is called "the triumph of the people;" a "strife between democracy and tradition." The author also says that notwithstanding that a change of 26,000 votes would have given Adams the vote of Pennsylvania and the election, such an outcome "could only have delayed the triumph of the masses." To presume that the masses were triumphant any more in the election of Andrew Jackson than they generally are when an individual counting of noses ends a political contest in our country is to twist the facts of history.

The third and last volume of the series was written by Prof. Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, and in some respects is the least satisfactory of the lot. It is called "Division and Reunion," and covers the period beginning with 1829 and closing with 1889. Undoubtedly this is the most important epoch in our history, and the one whose events and actors are most likely to be misunderstood and misrepresented.

An estimate of Andrew Jackson begins the book. In some respects the measurement is accurate and just; in others too appreciative, and, at the last, apologetic. It absolves Jackson from responsibility for inventing and exploiting the spoils system, unloading the burden from the shoulders of the chief to those of his lieutenants, Van Buren and Marcy. While these men may have discovered the system, as Marcy coined the ex-

pression "to the victors belong the spoils," we see no justice in absolving a president from the sins which he permits his administration to practice any more than robbing him of credit for the virtues which it may possess.

In speaking of the battle of Jackson against the United States Bank, the word people is again used with almost the looseness of a demagogue. We are told that Mr. Clay made the mistake of "supposing that respect for a great and useful moneyed corporation would be as useful or as powerful a motive among the voters as appreciation of Gen. Jackson, the man of the people." The assumption that Jackson was the "man of the people" any more than Henry Clay, who was his presidential opponent, or that the election of 1832 served marching orders on "Old Hickory" to attack and demolish the United States Bank, is scarcely warranted in the light of careful history.

When we come to the matters operating as causes of the slaveholders' rebellion, and to some of the events following the war, the author of this book lays himself especially open to criticism. We are told, directly and by inference, that the South was stung to the quick by the agitation against slavery and the moral censure of slaveholders by the people of the North. Apparently, Prof. Wilson considers these so-called attacks upon the national iniquity and its votaries unjust, for he says of the slaveholders: "They knew they did not deserve such reprobation; they knew their lives were honorable, their relations with their slaves humane, their responsibility for the existence of slavery among them remote."

We may look with some degree of charity upon our southern brethren, brought up in the presence of the "peculiar institution," and colored in their thinking and conduct thereby. But there is no reason for

discounting the facts of history on that account. It is indeed doubtful if any good in the direction of national kindly feeling is to be gained by attempting to obliterate the truth or keep silent about it because it may be unpleasant reading in some quarters. There were innumerable instances of inhumanity of the most revolting sort involved in the treatment of slaves. In fact, the system bred inhumanity as a swamp breeds malaria. The people in the South were both personally and remotely responsible for the presence of slavery up to the limit of their power to remove it. The indisputable fact is that no effort to curtail the institution, prevent its spread or promote its abolition, failed to meet with vigorous, virulent and almost solid opposition in the South, from the time of the ordinance regarding the Northwest Territory down to the resort to rebellion and armed conflict to protect and perpetuate the institution. It was not the injured feelings of the slaveholders that brought on the war, but fear for the safety of the barbarous institution of slavery.

One other divergence from the straight line of history may be noted. It is to be presumed that the student who consults a text-book has a right to expect that it will tell him the related occurrences of history as they really happened. This historian tells us that Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks were the democratic candidates for president and vice-president in 1884, but the inquirer will look in vain to find out who were their opponents on the republican ticket. This point of important information is turned down with this distinct fling: "But such advantage as the democrats had lost the republicans enabled them to regain by nominating for the presidency and vice-presidency candidates who represented seriously discredited elements within the party." The names of James G. Blaine and John A. Logan do not appear

between the covers of this book, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Blaine, as congressman, senator, speaker of the house and secretary of state, was one of the foremost figures in our political history for more than quarter of a century. In spite of the belittling reference by Prof. Wilson, a change of 600 votes in the state of New York would have made the unmentioned Blaine president of the United States. We submit that this is not history, but partisan prejudice of the most inexcusable sort.

It seems about the right thing to say that this book is not a proper candidate for class-room favor, until its apparent sins of omission have been purged away. True it is that the advertisement of the book contains a testimonial from President Roosevelt, and it is probably equally true that he did little more than "smell the paper knife" in reviewing it before he gave it the weight of his approval.

EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY: DESCRIPTIVE AND ANALYTICAL. By Frances A. Kellor, Graduate student, University of Chicago. Cloth, gilt top, 316 pages, \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The study of crime and criminals is an important phase of social science and one which has but recently commanded scientific attention. For ages the criminal against the laws and usages of society was punished for the sake of inflicting pain, on the theory that he was a free moral agent and his crime a matter of volitional choice; that he violated the laws of society because he wanted to. As the scientific spirit has advanced, this idea has given way to the altogether more rational one that the character and conduct of individuals is, to say the least, largely the result of transmitted hereditary tendencies, together with the influence of social and economic conditions, education and other environal

influences. In other words, that man's character is made as much for him as by him.

This gives a new point of view to the treatment of defective traits in human character and development and perpetuation of good traits. In other words, it tends to bring the elimination of evil and perpetuation of good within the purview of scientific treatment and social law. This has been long recognized in regard to many phases of social life. As a result, education, in a hundred ways, has been made a prominent means of character formation and development. We become careful as to the kind of schools we will send our children to, the kind of company they move in, etc.

In the matter of individual criminals, recognition of this principle has been very tardy, but during the last few years, especially since sociology has become a more pronounced feature of higher education, the study of criminology has increased. Crime and the criminal instinct are fast becoming recognized as distinctly within the province of scientific treatment as social problems. In many cases complete reform of the criminals or delinquents may be accomplished, in others the downward tendencies arrested; and, by a better understanding of the subjects and wiser adjustment of the social environment of children, the development of criminal character can be largely avoided.

Recent investigations tend to show that these assumptions regarding crime are well founded. The progress of the study of criminology, if it is conducted strictly on scientific lines, is destined to produce a radical change in our whole criminal institutions. Miss Kellor's book on "Experimental Sociology" is one of the best contributions to this subject that has yet been made. It is not the launching of a theory, but rather a painstaking investigation of crime or criminology among women. Miss Kellor has collected data from the penal

and corrective institutions of all sections of the country, South and North, and of white and black. She has described systems by which criminals are treated for punishment and correction, giving a description of the food, social life, the labor, and in short of the influences under which they are placed. She does not claim to have exhausted the subject, either in the collection of facts, description of methods or development of principles, but she has made an excellent beginning on a thoroughly scientific investigation. Nor is she entirely colorless in her views on the subject. After 256 pages of description and criticism, with running suggestions, she concludes the book with a short chapter on the prevention of crime, which is suggestive of improved methods of treating criminals, but all along the rational line of regarding the majority of delinquents as patients to be improved rather than criminals to be punished. The book is especially valuable as showing the defective, utterly unscientific, and often inhuman methods of dealing with moral delinquents in our present penal and corrective institutions. Students of this subject cannot afford to omit a perusal of Miss Kellor's work.

CARPENTER'S GEOGRAPHICAL READER: EUROPE.
By Frank G. Carpenter. Cloth, 456 pages. Price, 70 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This book consists of an attempt to teach a certain amount of geography by narrative. The reader starts with the traveler on the ocean steamer, and keeps his company as he crosses the sea, visits cities, sails the rivers of Europe and observes the social and industrial life of its people. Very few of the interesting places in the British Isles or on the continent are missed.

The stories are interestingly told, and the facts are

fairly well mixed with a certain amount of helpful philosophy. Interest in the narrative is enhanced by numerous nicely printed half-tone engravings, while several maps enable the student to locate the places visited.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Daniel Webster. By Samuel W. McCall. With portrait. 50 cents net. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Facts and Comments. By Herbert Spencer. Uniform Edition. Cloth. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Prisoners of Russia. By Dr. Benjamin Howard. With an Introduction by General O. O. Howard. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.40 net. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The Real Siberia. Together with an account of a dash through Manchuria. By John Foster Fraser. Cloth. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

A Short History of Germany. By Ernest F. Henderson. In two volumes. Cloth, \$4.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Studies in Political and Social Ethics. By David G. Ritchie, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St. Andrews. Cloth, 238 pp., \$1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Commonwealth or Empire. By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L. Cloth, 82 pp., 60 cents. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Life at West Point. The Making of the American Army Officer: His Studies, Discipline, and Amusements. By H. Irving Hancock. With an Introduction by Colonel A. L. Mills, Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy. Fully illustrated. Cloth, \$1.40 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

The Rise of Religious Liberty in America. A History. By Sandford H. Cobb. Cloth, 541 pp., \$4.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

FROM MAY MAGAZINES

"Mr. Evans, the commissioner of pensions, has carried out a long-formed purpose and resigned after five years' service. There is both positive and negative evidence that he has administered that difficult office well. Negative evidence has been given by the pension agents and by professional spokesmen for pensioners. They have not liked him—much to his credit.

"The worst of it is there is no remedy. The government suffered itself to become their victim during the years when the cry of 'patriotism' covered up sins and crimes of many sorts; and unborn generations will continue to pay the bills. There are villages where an agent of the pension office suspected of an errand of investigation is in danger of physical injury; for mulcting the government is considered a legitimate industry.

"Mr. Evans enforced the law; and it is a sad comment to make on any public office that if the man who holds it enforces the law his life becomes a burden."—*World's Work*.

"In Minnesota a primary nomination law is now in force, and its first application is declared to have been eminently successful. The law is general, relating to all except state officers. First the plan had been tested in Minneapolis, whose citizens had adopted it by referendum, and now it is established for the entire state.


"At St. Paul, for the first time, the new law recently underwent a decisive trial. The voters had to nominate the mayor, controller, treasurer, two judges, nine assemblymen at large, and eleven ward aldermen. To get a place on the election ticket, it is necessary for a certain number of voters to sign a petition to the election officials. As a result of these petitions, there were six democratic candidates for mayor and two republican

candidates. At the primaries 18,728 votes were cast for the mayoralty candidates—a figure close to the normal vote of the city. This indicates a general interest in the contest, and the anxiety of the voters to determine the selection of the party candidates."

"The press and the public men of St. Paul are wholly satisfied with the new plan."—*The Chautauquan Magazine*.

"Three influences have held the social structure stationary: first slavery, which pickled all southern life and left it just as it found it; then the politician and the preacher. One has for a hundred years proclaimed the present social state as the ideal condition; and, if any has doubted this declaration, the other has told him that this life counts for little at best. Thus gagged and bound, southern rural society has remained stationary longer than English-speaking people have remained stationary anywhere else in the world. It is a state of life that keeps permanently the qualities of the frontier civilization long after the frontier has receded and been forgotten. The feeling that you bring away with you is a feeling that something has intervened to hold these people back from their natural development. They have a capacity that far outruns their achievement. They are citizens of an earlier time and of a narrower world, who have not had the development that a democracy implies. The cue to a proper understanding of them is the historic fact that they are capable people whose growth, when democracy began to develop men, was interrupted."—WALTER H. PAGE, in "The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths;" *Atlantic Monthly*.

"Visitors to New York will find the Hotel Empire, Broadway and 63d street, a quiet and select hotel at moderate rates."





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Gunton's magazine

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